was Attila's slave, bound to the payment of tribute. Therefore, he was arm whom fortune had made was arm was Attila's slave, bound to the paymont of thouse. Therefore, in attacking him covertly like a worthless slave, he was acting towards his better, whom fortune had made his master. attacking him covertiy had a stacking him covertiy had made his made his master, whom fortune had made his master,

What a moment it must have been. Here was the full imperial countries or in their gorgeous robes and minutely defined order of order of the divine favour order What a moment it must nave defined imperial that made the living representation of the divine favour that made the two has made to the two has made t drawn up in their gorgeous recorded order of the divine favour that made the two barbarian amb. cedence, the living representation in strode the two barbarian amble their pantomime. Priscus' description of the n Roman Empire supreme, which are the confidence of the Roman and the the confidence of the Roman and the Roman and the confidence of the Roman and the Roma dors to act out their pantonnant dors to act out their pantonnant panton of the Roma reaction doesn't survive, but nothing better illustrates the confidence action doesn't survive, but nothing better illustrates the confidence action doesn't survive, but nothing better illustrates the confidence action action action of the Roma reaction doesn't survive, but nothing better illustrates the confidence action reaction doesn't survive, but reaction doesn't survive, but which Attila trod his particular corner of the globe than the burniliation of the ruler of the eastern Roman Empire. with which Auna too globe than ceremonial humiliation of the ruler of the eastern Roman Empire,

### An Empire of Many Colours

THERE WAS MUCH more to Attila's European reign of terror, however, than this personal charisma and his finely honed demonstrations of dominance. Such tours de force were as much effect as cause of the two transformations which, in just one generation, had turned the Huns from useful allies of Constantius and Aetius into world conquer ors. Priscus' narrative, implicitly points us towards the causes of these changes, without which Attila's career of conquest could not have happened.

As we've seen, Priscus was not the first east Roman historian-cumdiplomat to visit the Huns. In 411/12, Olympiodorus had taken to sea with his parrot, braving fierce storms off Constantinople, then skirting Athens and up the Adriatic to Aquileia on its northern shore. Unfortunately, only a brief summary of this embassy survives, but it dos contain one piece of crucial information:

Olympiodorus discusses Donatus and the Huns and the natural talent of their kings for archery. The historian describes the embassy on which he went to them and to Donatus and ... tells how Donatus was deceived by an oath and wickedly killed, how Charaton, the first of the kings, flared up with rage at the murder and how he will be supported by the support of the kings. and how he was calmed down and pacified with regal gifts."

The extract is not without mystery; not least concerning the identity of Donatus - opinion and of Donatus – opinions differ as to whether he was a Hun or not – and

have supposed that the arrival of Olympiodorus' some have supposed that the arrival of Olympiodorus' merely coincide with Donatus' death, but was a successful enactment of the kind. Some nave supposed that the arrival of Olympiodorus' with Donatus' death, but was an of the kild of plot that Dries and more successful enactment of the kind of plot that Dries and more successful enactment of the key points in the successful enactment of the kind of plot that Dries and the successful enactment of the kind of plot that Dries and the successful enactment of the kind of plot that Dries and the successful enactment of the kind of plot that Dries and the successful enactment of the kind of plot that Dries and the successful enactment of the kind of plot that Dries and the successful enactment of the kind of plot that Dries and the successful enactment of the kind of plot that Dries and the successful enactment of the kind of plot that Dries and the successful enactment of the kind of plot that Dries are successful enactment of the kind of plot that Dries are successful enactment of the kind of plot that Dries are successful enactment of the kind of plot that Dries are successful enactment of the kind of plot that Dries are successful enactment of the kind of plot that Dries are successful enactment of the kind of plot that Dries are successful enactment of the kind of plot that Dries are successful enactment of the kind of plot that Dries are successful enactment of the kind of plot that Dries are successful enactment of the kind of plot that Dries are successful enactment of the kind of plot that Dries are successful enactment of the kind of plot that Dries are successful enactment of the kind of plot that Dries are successful enactment of the kind of plot that Dries are successful enactment of the kind of plot that Dries are successful of his successful enactment of the kind of plot that Priscus and more successful enactment of the key point is that in 411/12 and more successful enactment of the kind of plot that Priscus of his and more successful enactment of the kind of plot that Priscus is that in 411/12 and more successful enactment of the kind of plot that Priscus of kings and more successful enactment of the kind of plot that Priscus of kings and more successful enactment of the kind of plot that Priscus of kings and more successful enactment of the kind of plot that Priscus of kings and more successful enactment of the kind of plot that Priscus of kings and more successful enactment of the kind of plot that Priscus of the kind of plot that Priscus of kings and more successful enactment of the kind of plot that Priscus of the kind of plot the kind of plot that Priscus of the kind of plot blossy and more successivi enactment of the kind of plot that Priscus and more successivity and the key point is that in 411/12 the prize and more series of kings (how many is not specified) which were ruled by a series of kings (how many is not specified). which series of kings (how many is not specified), and were ruled by a series of kings to a ranking system which all the series operated according to a ranking system which all the series operated according to a ranking system which all the series operated according to a ranking system which all the series of kings operated according to a ranking system which all the series of kings operated according to a ranking system which all the series of kings operated according to a ranking system which all the series of kings operated according to a ranking system which all the series of kings operated according to a ranking system which all the series of kings (how many is not specified), and the series of kings (how many is not specified), and the series of kings (how many is not specified). full were ruled by a series of another and these out Charaton as senior. It sounds highly reminiscent in the second out Charaton as senior. It sounds highly reminiscent in the second out Charaton as senior. It sounds highly reminiscent in the second out the sec Hull we kings operated according to a ranking system which clearly these kings operated as senior. It sounds highly reminiscent, in fact, the hierarchical system of another nomadic group. The All marked out the hierarchical system of another nomadic group. the hierarchical system of another nomadic group, the Akatziri, of the fate came to Priscus' attention during his own embassing fate came to Priscus attention during his own embassing fate came to Priscus attention during his own embassing fate came to Priscus attention during h where hierarchical systems of amount momadic group, the Akatziri, attention during his own embassy. When the hope fate came to Priscus' attention during his own embassy. When the hope fate came to Priscus' camp, Onegesius was aware to priscus' at the Huns' camp, Onegesius was aware to priscus at the Huns' camp, Onegesius at t of the came to resolve the Huns' camp, Onegesius was away with Romans arrived at the Huns' group. The opportunity to define the Romans son subduing this group. the Romans arrived at this group. The opportunity to do so had the Romans subduing this group. The opportunity to do so had the Romans arrived at the Roma Atila's eldest some interesting fashion, as Priscus describes:

The [Akatziri] had many rulers according to their tribes and clans, The [Akatzin] has a sent gifts to them to the end that the Emperor Theodosius sent gifts to them to the end that and the Emperor their alliance with Attila and they might unanimously renounce their alliance with Attila and they might uniam to each of the line with a reach of the line with the gifts gek peace with the each of the kings by rank, with the result did not deliver the senior in office, received his gifts second that Kouridachus, the senior in office, received his gifts second that nounted and deprived of his due honours, and, being thus overlooked and deprived of his due honours, called in Attila against his fellow kings.

Apart from allowing one the pleasure of imagining the report of the Roman ambassador who had managed to make such a mess of his mission,44 the passage gives us some idea of the kind of political system operating among the Huns in the early 410s.35

The contrast with Attila's time, a generation or so later, could not be more marked. Priscus spent a great deal of time at the Hunnic our, and devoted many words to its structure and modes of operation. As we have seen, there was then an inner core of leading men Onegesius first, then others such as Edeco, Scottas and Berichus whom Attila treated with great respect; but none of them enjoyed any and of royal dignity. In all of this information, there is not the slightest indication that the Huns had more than one ruler: Attila himself. The multiplicity of power-sharing kings of 411 had given way to a monarch the literal sense of the word. Of the process that ended up with Nould are no one man's hands, no account survives. As you would expect, all the indications suggest, however, that it was not a Reachill evolution. The final act in the drama was Attila's murder of by brother Bleda. By that stage, power had anyway narrowed to just two members of the same family – which suggests that Rua (or Rua lines. two members of the same family - which suggests that Rua (or Rua of Bleda's murder is probably a feet

uncle whom

in reducing the number of Flurance Loyal Miles.

The naked violence of Bleda's murder is probably a fair indicate

the other surplus kings had been removed. The flurance loyal management of the flurance loyal management of the flurance loyal management. The naked violence of Bieda's Indicated in Propably a fair indicated between Constantinople and Attila and Bleda, before the of how the other surplus kings and Attila and Bleda, first the return, as we have the tiations between Constantinopie attacked Viminacium in 441, resulted in the return, as we have the fleeing Hunnic royals, Marna and Atakam, who were promise of Artila and in the return and the fleeing Hunnic royals, Marna and Atakam, who were promise the promise of Artila and in the return as we have the promise of Artila and in the return as we have the promise of Artila and in the return as we have the promise of Artila and in the return as we have the promise of Artila and in the return as we have the promise of Artila and in the return as we have the promise of Artila and in the return as we have the promise of Artila and in the return as we have the promise of Artila and in the return at attacked Viminacium in 441, resulting as we have the of two fleeing Hunnic royals, Mama and Atakam, who were have the land. They could have been cousins of Attila and Bleda, for him might equally have been been as a might equally have been been as a might equally have been as of two fleeing Hunnic royals, who were promptly impaled. They could have been cousins of Attila and Bleda, for Rule Discounting the Been description of two fleeing Hunnic royals, who were promptly impaled. The Business of Attila and Bleda, for Rule Discounting the Business of Attila and Business of Atti impaled. They could nave been descended impaled. They could nave been descended the suppressed earlier by Rua. The whole fugitive is the suppressed impaled to the suppressed to the suppressed in the suppressed had at least two brotners, but from royal lines suppressed can diplomacy in the fugitive issue which so bedevilled Hunno-Roman diplomacy in the 440s, was clearly be used to the suppressed can be used to the suppressed which so bedevilled runnic royals and ex-royals of one kind or another or another to the names of one kind or another or Maximinus and Priscus had to listen to the names of seventeen number, so we are all number, so we are all number. Maximinus and Fiscus ...... fugitives being read out – a very small number, so we are cleanly individuals who posed some kind of threat cleanly dealing here with individuals who posed some kind of threat at the highest level. It is also possible that some of the lesser kings had accepted demotion rather than face extinction. (When something bad accepted demotion rather than face extinction.) similar was happening among Goths in the decade after Attila's death though most of the minor royals died fighting or fled from the scene, at least one was willing to be demoted to leading-noble status.30

Set against what we know about nomad anthropology, political centralization - the first of the two transformations that concern us here - must also have been associated with a broader transformation among the Huns. Devolved power structures occur very naturally among nomadic groups, because their herds cannot be concentrated in large groupings, for fear of overgrazing. In the nomad world, the main purpose of any larger political structure is simply to provide a temporary forum where grazing rights can be negotiated, and a force put together, if necessary, to protect those rights against outsiders. This being the case, the permanent centralization of political power among the Huns strongly implies that they were no longer so economically dependent upon the produce of their flocks. Priscus provides a number of clues to the nature of these economic adjustments. As we saw in the contract of these economic adjustments as we saw in the saw i Chapter 4, nomads always need to form economic relationships with settled agricultural producers. This was clearly the case with the Huth and commercial and and commercial exchanges were still taking place in the 440s. The time of Amile 1 the time of Attila, the main form of exchange between Hunnic normal and Roman accordance. and Roman agriculturalist was not grain in return for animal products.

aid of one kind or another. This form previous generations, when Hung 1 with the market mercenary service for the Roman are service. return for multiple of one kind or another. This form previous generations, when Huns had had its origins in previous generations, when Huns had had its origins for the Roman state. Uldin and the first we know of to have followed the first we know of the first we know of to have followed the first we know of to have followed the first we know of the fi generations, when Huns had its original for the Roman state. Uldin and his service for the Roman state. Uldin and his efformed mercenary we know of to have fulfilled this role afformed were the first Hunnic forces may be a service for the Roman state. roman state. Uldin and his role, in the first we know of to have fulfilled this role, in the property were the first we know of to have aided Constant which were all larger Hunnic forces may have aided Constant and larger supported Aerius in the property and larger supported Aerius in the property and larger supported Aerius in the property supported Aerius in profiles were the first we have a nave fulfilled this role, in the hollowers and larger Hunnic forces may have aided Constantius in the 420s and 430s.

and 400s, and certainly supported Aetius in the 420s and 430s.

and 400s, and certainly supported for nave and 430s. and larger supported Aetius in the 420s and 430s.

100 may nave aided Constant of the 420s and 430s.

101 alos, and certainly supported for pay evolved in the 420s and 430s.

102 alos, and certainly service for pay evolved in the 420s and 430s. and dertainly super service for pay evolved into demands for shortly after, military service when the line was crossed: with menaces. Flower, with a certainly launched one major assault with 10 say, but Attila's uncle Rua certainly launched one major assault with cash in mind, even if he classified to say, here east Roman Empire with cash in mind, even if he classified to say, here east Roman Empire with cash in mind, even if he classified to say, here east Roman Empire with cash in mind, even if he classified to say, here east Roman Empire with cash in mind, even if he classified to say, here east Roman Empire with cash in mind, even if he classified to say, here east Roman Empire with cash in mind, even if he classified to say, here east Roman Empire with cash in mind, even if he classified to say, here east Roman Empire with cash in mind, even if he classified to say, here east Roman Empire with cash in mind, even if he classified to say, here east Roman Empire with cash in mind, even if he classified to say, here east Roman Empire with cash in mind, even if he classified to say, here east Roman Empire with cash in mind, even if he classified to say, here east Roman Empire with cash in mind, even if he classified to say, here east Roman Empire with cash in mind, even if he classified to say, here east Roman Empire with cash in mind, even if he classified to say, here east Roman Empire with cash in mind, even if here east Roman Empire with cash in mind, even if here east Roman Empire with cash in mind, even if here east Roman Empire with cash in mind, even if here exists a say of the control of th but Attina switch cash in mind, even if he also prothe cast Roman Empire with cash in mind, even if he also proon the east Roman service for the west. By the reign of Attila, targeted midd mercenary service tribute, and it clearly emerges from aid had become tribute, and it clearly emerges from mercenary service tribute, and it clearly emerges from Priscus' and had become tribute, and it clearly emerges from Priscus' from Romano-Hunnic diplomacy that the main thing at foreign aid had become diplomacy that the main thing the Huns more of Romano-Hunnic diplomacy that the main thing the Huns more of from these exchanges, and from their periodic and the second from these exchanges, and from their periodic and the second from these exchanges, and from the second from th proof of Romano and from their periodic assaults across and from these exchanges, and from their periodic assaults across and from these exchanges, and yet more cash. As we saw from the form was cash and yet more cash. As we saw earlier, the first frontier, was ratila and Bleda and the east Domain and Steel Boundary of the first the first same and steel and the east Domain and Steel Boundary of the first same and steel and the east Domain and Steel and the east Domain and Steel fontier, was and Bleda and the east Romans fixed the size may between Attila at seven hundred pounds of may between the size the size annual tribute at seven hundred pounds of gold – and from dissipance could only escalate. of this annual tribute of the demands could only escalate. Hunnic warfare against the bere inc asso brought other one-sided economic exchanges in its Romans also in its series booty, slaves and ransoms such as the one Priscus and Maximike: booty, slaves and ransoms such as the one Priscus and Maximike booty, slaves and ransoms such as the one Priscus and Maximike booty, slaves and ransoms such as the one Priscus and Maximike booty, slaves and ransoms such as the one Priscus and Maximike booty, slaves and ransoms such as the one Priscus and Maximike booty, slaves and ransoms such as the one Priscus and Maximike booty, slaves and ransoms such as the one Priscus and Maximike booty, slaves and ransoms such as the one Priscus and Maximike booty, slaves and ransoms such as the one Priscus and Maximike booty, slaves and ransoms such as the one Priscus and Maximike booty, slaves and priscus and

minus negotiated.38 By the 440s, then, military predation upon the Roman Empire had become the source of an ever-expanding flow of funds into the Hunnic world. To overthrow a system of ranked but more or less equal kings, the king-who-would-be-preeminent needed to convince the followers of the other kings that they should transfer their loyalties to him. Comering the market in the flow of funds from the Empire was the ideal means of putting sufficient powers of patronage into the hands of just one man, and rendering the old political structures redundant. Only by controlling the flow of new funds could one king outbid the others in the struggle for support. Already in the mid- to late-fourth conury, Huns had presumably been raiding and intimidating both other nomads and Germanic agriculturalists north of the Black Sea, but real centralization only became possible once the main body of the Huns was operating close to the Roman world. Raid and intimidate the Goths and you might get some slaves, a bit of silver and some winditural produce, but that was about it – not enough to fund fullrede political revolution. But do the same vis-à-vis the Roman Empire, the gold would begin to roll in, first in hundreds of pounds

annually, then thousands – enough to transform both economic we call systems.

while the argument is not susceptible to proof, we could with the past. As mention and an adaptation are transformations as an adaptation away from no made While the argument is not privot, we we stand these transformations as an adaptation away from home than a complete break with the past. As mentioned each transformation and the standard rear a range of animal privote. stand these transformations as rather than a complete break with the past. As mentioned nomal circumstances nomads rear a range of animals to make full to make f normal circumstances normans to make full of the varying qualities of available grazing. The horse figures primare for raiding, war, transition of the varying qualities of available grazing. Used for raiding, war, transition of the varying qualities of available grazing. of the varying qualities of available of the varying qualities of the varying qualiti as an expensive, almost runny as an expensive, almost runny as an expensive, almost runny and milk provide only a very inefficient return and trade; its meat and milk provide only a very inefficient return and quantum to reach the return to return to reach the return to retur and trade; its meat and many and trade; its meat and trade; its me terms of usable protein comerce terms of usable protein comerc grazing required. As a result, a financially attractive for horses. If, however, warfare becomes a financially attractive for horses. If, however, warfare becomes a financially attractive for horses. horses. If, however, was horses. If, however, was horses at did when the Huns came within range of the Roman osition, as it did when the Huns came within range of the Roman osition, as it did when the Huns came within range of the Roman osition, as it did when the Huns came within range of the Roman osition, as it did when the Huns came within range of the Roman osition, as it did when the Huns came within range of the Roman osition, as it did when the Huns came within range of the Roman osition, as it did when the Huns came within range of the Roman osition, as it did when the Huns came within range of the Roman osition, as it did when the Huns came within range of the Roman osition, as it did when the Huns came within range of the Roman osition, as it did when the Huns came within range of the Roman osition, as it did when the Huns came within range of the Roman osition osition. osition, as it did when the start to breed increasing number the process, into a particular evolving, in the process, into a particular to breed increasing number to be a particular t Empire, then notified a particular type of horses for war – evolving, in the process, into a particular type of of horses for war of the steppe. This could never have worked a militarily predatory normadic group. This could never have worked a a subsistence strategy out on the steppe, where the potential proceed from warfare were so much less.

It is impossible to prove that this is what happened, but one relevant factor is the size of the fifth-century Hunnic homeland, the Hungarian Plain: while providing good-quality grazing, it was much smaller than the plains of the Great Eurasian Steppe the Huns had left behind. Its 42,400 square kilometres amount to less than 4 per cent of the grazing available, for instance, in the republic of Mongolia alone And because the grazing was now so limited, some historians have wondered whether the Huns were evolving towards a fully sedeniary existence in the fifth century. This is a possible argument, but not a necessary one. The Hungarian Plain notionally provides grazing for 320,000 horses, but this figure must be reduced so as to accommodate other animals, forest and so on; so it would be reasonable to suppost that it could support, maybe, 150,000. Given that each nomad warning requires a string of ten horses to be able to rotate and not overing them, the Hungarian Plain would thus provide sufficient space w support horses for up to 15,000 warriors. I would doubt that there were ever more Huns than this in total, so that, as late as the reign of Attila, there is the first of religion to the state of the sta Attila, there is in fact no firm indication that the Huns did not remine part of their new countries and not remine the part of their new countries and not remine the huns did not remine the Huns did not remine the part of their new countries and not remine the huns did part of their nomad character. 39 Whatever the case, the real point that, once they found that, once they found themselves within hailing distance of the Roman Empire, the Haman Empire, the Huns perceived a new and better way to make a limb

based on military predation upon the relatively rich economy of the world. Implicitly documents the world. of the world. Implicitly documents the other fundamental priscus, evidence also implicitly documents the other fundamental priscus, evidence Attila's Empire possible. At his court, Maximi priscus, that made anarcting primarily with be discrete widence also implicitly documents the other fundamental possible. At his court, Maximinus made Artila's Empire possible. At his court, Maximinus made interacting primarily with an inner core of second principles. Identify that were interacting primarily like the were interacting primarily with an inner core of second principles. priscus made Artila s primarily with an inner core of secondmade interacting primarily with an inner core of secondmade priscus were interacting himself. Identifying the language with Attila himself. Identifying the language made priscus with a names belong to is formal names belong to is formal names belong to its formal names to its formal names to its formal names belong to its formal names to its formal n dull be interacting printing with an inner core of secondwere interacting printing with an inner core of secondindependent with Attila himself. Identifying the language group
and priscus when with Attila himself. Identifying the language group
and priscus with an inner core of secondinteracting printing with a print photon, rather than will are belong to is fraught with danger, but the photon of these men are extremely interesting. There is no doubt pankers, there is no doubt that and these men are extremely interesting. There is no doubt that panels of these men are extremely interesting. There is no doubt that panels of these men are extremely interesting. There is no doubt that panels and Edeco possessed Germanic or Germanicized. the men are carrelled in these men are carrelled in the men are carrell onegesius and Bacco probably did. And both Attila ('Little Father') onegesius and Scottas probably did. This doesn't mean that these in the same also Germanic. were necessary, because we know that by the mid-fifth cen-bet may have been), because term for a number of may have beauty, the collective term for a number of mutually of the Germanic dialects spoken across central and management of the collective term for a number of mutually may have beauty, and have beauty and have been beauty and have been beauty and have b Gothic Programmic dialects spoken across central and eastern on was one of the main languages of the Humain Programmic Was one of the main languages of the Humain Programmic Was one of the main languages of the Humain Programmic Was one of the main languages of the Humain Programmic Was one of the main languages of the Humain Programmic Was one of the main languages of the Humain Programmic Was one of the main languages of the Humain Programmic Was one of the Main Programmic Was one of the Was one of th onprehensible oction and eastern across central and eastern languages of the Hunnic Empire, and supple was one of the main languages of the Hunnic Empire, and supple was at Attila's court. Hence, in addition puope was spoken at Attila's court. Hence, in addition to their original Hunric names (and the argument continues over what type of Hunic manice what type of manual the Huns originally spoke), important figures in the Hunnic Inguage the following seem to have had Germanic or Germanicized names as well.40 Empire seems as well. Why had Germanic languages come to play a prominent role in the Hunnic Empire?

The explanation lies in the broader evolution of Attila's Empire. As far back as the 370s when they were attacking Goths beyond the Black Sea, Huns were forcing others they had already subdued to fight alongside them. When they first attacked the Greuthungi, starting the avalanche that ended at the battle of Hadrianople (see p. 167), they were operating in alliance with Iranian-speaking Alan nomads. And whenever we encounter them subsequently, we find that Hunnic forces always fought alongside non-Hunnic allies. Although Uldin, as we saw in Chapter 5, was not a conqueror on the scale of Attila, once the east Romans had dismantled his following, most of the force they were left with to resettle turned out to be Germanic-speaking Sciri.41 likewise, in the early 420s, east Roman forces intervening to curb Hunnic power west of the Carpathian Mountains found themselves hef with a large number of Germanic Goths. 42

the years preceding the rise of Attila, the process of incorporation continued apace. By the 440s, an unprecedented number of Germanic apace. Germanic groups found themselves within the orbit defined by the

and Attila continued to grasp at opportunities to acquire new allies. As this catalogue makes clear, the Hunnic Empire was all about incorporating people, not territory: hence Attila's virtual lack of interest in annexing substantial chunks of the Roman Empire. He took two Middle Danubian provinces from the western Empire as the price of his alliance with Aetius, as we saw in Chapter 6, but otherwise showed interest only in establishing a cordon sanitaire between himself and the east. Although there are many brief chronicle references to Attila's military forces as 'Huns' or (if they're archaizing) 'Scythians', from all the short the sources that go into any detail it is clear that his armies, like those of his large and any detail it is clear that his armies, like those of his less powerful predecessors, were always composites, consisting hoth of the both of Huns and of contingents from the numerous other peoples incorporated into his Empire.44

than Huns, which explains why 'Gothic' should have become the

Attila's non-Hunnic subjects. Iranian-speaking Alanic and Sarmatian

groups, as we saw earlier, had long been in alliance with the Huns

Archaeological evidence confirms the point (map 12). Since 1945 as of material has 1 mass of material has been unearthed from cemetery excavations of the Great Hungarian the Great Hungarian Plain and its environs, dating to the period Hunnic domination. Hunnic domination there. (Some treasure hoards have been treasured hoards have been trea

but no one has ever found any of Attila's camps, since only one how would remain.) In this material, 'proper' Huns have propered, would remain.) In total – and this includes word to find. In total – and this includes ore ted, but no one mass ever round any of Attila's camps, since only ore ted, but no one main.) In this material, 'proper' Huns have proved or ted, would remain.) In total – and this includes the Volga Standard to find. In total – and this includes the Volga Standard to find. In total – and this includes the Volga Standard to find. Sea as well as the Hungarian Distriction of the part of or holes hard to find. In total – and this includes the Volga Steppe of holes hard to Sea as well as the Hungarian Plain – archaeological of the Black more than two hundred himilaterial. nnu. III what is includes the Volga Steppe and the Hungarian Plain – archaeologists spends of the Black Sea as well as the Hungarian Plain – archaeologists and the Black of t of the Black sea as well as Frumgarian Plain – archaeologists than two hundred burials as plausibly Hunnic.

The black sea as well as Frumgarian Plain – archaeologists than two hundred burials as plausibly Hunnic.

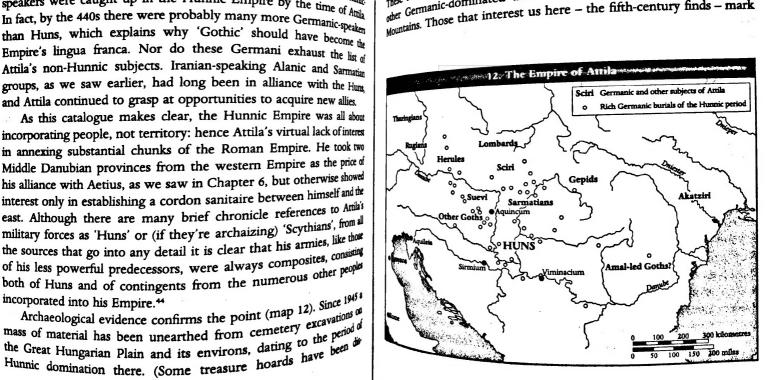
The black sea as well as Frumgarian Plain – archaeologists than two hundred burials as plausibly Hunnic.

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The black sea as well as Frumgarian Plain – archaeologists than two hundred burials as plausibly Hunnic.

The black sea as well as Frumgarian Plain – archaeologists than two hundred burials as plausibly Hunnic. mediogists

month of the distinguished by bows, non-standard European modes of distinguished by bows, non-standard European modes of the distinguished by the distinguished by bows, non-standard European modes of the distinguished by the distinguish are distinguished of (some Huns bound the heads of babies, or cranial deformation (some skull), and the reconstructive elongated skull), and the reconstructive elongated skull) or the cranial deformation bound the heads of babies, area provoked a distinctive elongated skull), and the presence of soprovoked a district So either the Huns generally disposed of their ollid Hunnic cauldrons. So either the Huns generally disposed of their ollid ways that did not leave traces, or some other explanation ways died Hunnic Caulium on the leave traces, or some other explanation is dead in ways that did not leave traces. What these fifth and for the scarcity of Hunnic material. What these fifth and for the scarcity of Hunnic material. dead in ways that the scarcity of Hunnic material. What these fifth-century produced in large quantity nanubian cemeteries have produced in large quantity. required for the scale the remains or what look like the remains of the remains o Middle Danubian or what look like the remains – of the Huns' eren are the remains (unfortunately, it isn't possible to rell the like the remains of the Huns' eren subjects (unfortunately, it isn't possible to rell the like the remains of the Huns' eren subjects (unfortunately, it isn't possible to rell the like the remains of the Huns' eren subjects (unfortunately, it isn't possible to rell the like the remains – of the Huns' eren subjects (unfortunately, it isn't possible to rell the like the remains – of the Huns' eren subjects (unfortunately, it isn't possible to rell the like the remains – of the Huns' eren subjects (unfortunately, it isn't possible to rell the like the remains – of the Huns' eren subjects (unfortunately, it isn't possible to rell the like the remains – of the Huns' eren subjects (unfortunately, it isn't possible to rell the like the remains – of the Huns' eren subjects (unfortunately, it isn't possible to rell the like the remains – of the Huns' eren subjects (unfortunately, it isn't possible to rell the like the remains – of the like the remains – of the like the remains – of the like the remains eren subjects (unfortunately, it isn't possible to rell the like the like the remains – of the like the remains eren subjects (unfortunately, it isn't possible to rell the like the etti are the remains – of the Huns' etti are the remains – of the Huns' centaric subjects (unfortunately, it isn't possible to tell the latter apart centaric subjects on the strength of archaeological for Cemanic subjects and the strength of archaeological finds alone).47 from one another on the strength of archaeological finds alone).47 for one another close fourth-century antecedents in Gothic- and these remains have close fourth-century antecedents in Gothic- and These that interest us here—the CGL other Germania. Those that interest us here – the fifth-century finds – mark



the emergence of what has been christened the 'Danublan and an ervle is characterized by inhumation to the inhumation to manic burial.48

The Danubian style is characterized by inhumation rather with a large number of objects being deposited to the control of th The Danubian style is cliented of objects being deposited to small number of rich burials. (Many other individual in these characteristics) cremation, with a large number of rich burials. (Many other individuals in a with few or no grave goods at all.) These characteristic objects of the particularly large. relatively small number of new goods at all.) These characteristic objections with polyhedric nend. buried with few or no grave good to buried with few or no grave go brooches, plate buckles, carrings and military equipment have also been and buckles, long straight and buckles, carrings are carrings are carrings and carrings are carrings are carrings are carrings and carrings are c necklaces. Weapons and minimum and appliques, long straight from cavalry use and arrows. The remains also show line. commonly found: saddles with a suitable for cavalry use and arrows. The remains also show up some control quirks; it became quite usual, for instance, to bury suitable for cavalry use and suitable for instance, to bury broken use and suitable for cavalry use and odd ritual quirks; it became quirks; to bury broken metallic mirrors with the dead. The kinds of items found in the grave which people were buried and, perhaps above all the grave the state of the people were buried and the grave all the gr metallic mirrors with the season the ways in which people were buried and, perhaps above all, the ways in which people were their clothes – gathered with a season with a women, in particular, wore their clothes – gathered with a safety to shoulder. with another closing the outer me women, in particular, with another closing the outer safety poor fibula, on each shoulder, with another closing the outer safety poor of fibula, on each shoulder, with another closing the outer safety poor of fibula, on each shoulder, with another closing the outer safety poor of fibula, on each shoulder, with another closing the outer safety poor of fibula, on each shoulder, with another closing the outer safety poor of fibula, on each shoulder, with another closing the outer safety poor of fibula, on each shoulder, with another closing the outer safety poor of fibula, on each shoulder, with another closing the outer safety poor of fibula, on each shoulder, with another closing the outer safety poor of fibula, on each shoulder, with another closing the outer safety poor of fibula, on each shoulder, with another closing the outer safety poor of fibula, on each shoulder, with another closing the outer safety poor of fibula, on the outer safety poor of f or fibula, on each should be patterns observable in definitely Germany.

These habits and items remains of the fourth century. These habits and items were the pooled and developed further among the massed ranks of Amilia subjects on the Great Hungarian Plain in the fifth.

One possible answer to the question of the lack of Hunnic burish then, is that, quite simply, they started to dress like their Germanic subject peoples, in just the same way that they learned the Gothe language. If so, it would be impossible to tell Hun from Goth-a anyone else - in the cemetery evidence. But even if our 'real Hum' are lying there in disguise, as it were, this doesn't alter the fact that there were an awful lot of Germani buried in and around the Great Hungarian Plain in the Hunnic period. What we're looking at in the richly furnished Danubian-style burials are the remains of many of Attila's elite Germanic followers. Date and geographical placement make this a dead certainty.50

Every time a new barbarian group was added to Attila's Empire that group's manpower was mobilized for Hunnic campaigns. Heat the Huns' military machine increased, and increased very quickly, incorporating ever larger numbers of the Germani of central and Romani of Central and Ro eastern Europe. In the short term, this benefited the embattled Roman West The west. The reason, as many historians have remarked, that the rule Germanic immediate many historians have remarked, that the rule of the remarked in the rule of t Germanic immigration into the Roman Empire ceased after the of 405-8 (see Cl. of 405-8 (see Chapter 5) was that those who had not crossed by

by about 410 found themselves incorporated instead into the Huns; and there is an inverse relationship between the Huns; into the Roman Empire and a supplier of migration into the Roman Empire and a supplier of migration into the Roman Empire and a supplier of migration into the Roman Empire and a supplier of migration into the Roman Empire and a supplier of migration into the Roman Empire and a supplier of migration into the Roman Empire and a supplier of migration into the Roman Empire and a supplier of migration into the supplier of ATTILA THE FIUN soner by about 410 round there is an inverse relationship between the Huns; and the Roman Empire and the rise of Huns. Into the Roman Empire and the rise of Huns. the Huns; and the Roman Empire and the rise of Hunnic more of migration into the Roman Empire and the rise of Hunnic more of migration however, the respirate

pace term, however, the respite from assault was only of the longer succession of Hunnic leaders achieved on and a succession of hunnic leaders achieved poret the longer term, in the respite from assault was only in the longer succession of Hunnic leaders achieved something and a succession had achieved in the Near Indiana what the Sasanians had achieved in the Near Indiana him loops to what the Sasanians had achieved in the Near Indiana him loops to what the Sasanians had achieved in the Near Indiana him loops to what the Sasanians had achieved in the Near Indiana him loops to what the Sasanians had achieved in the Near Indiana him loops to what the Sasanians had achieved in the Near Indiana him loops to what the Sasanians had achieved in the Near Indiana him loops to what the Sasanians had achieved in the Near Indiana him loops to what the Sasanians had achieved in the Near Indiana him loops to what the Sasanians had achieved in the Near Indiana him loops to what the Sasanians had achieved in the Near Indiana him loops to what the Sasanians had achieved in the Near Indiana him loops to what the Sasanians had achieved in the Near Indiana him loops to what the Sasanians had achieved in the Near Indiana him loops to what the Sasanians had achieved in the Near Indiana him loops to what the Sasanians had achieved in the Near Indiana him loops to what the Sasanians had achieved in the Near Indiana him loops to what the Sasanians had achieved in the Near Indiana him loops to what the Sasanians had achieved in the Near Indiana him loops to what the Sasanians had achieved in the Near Indiana him loops to what the Sasanians had achieved in the Near Indiana him loops to what the Near Indiana him loops to white loops the Near Indiana him loop and a succession and a succession had achieved in the Near East. For what the Sasanians had achieved in the Near East. For what time in imperial Roman history, the Huns managed proposition of Rome's European neighbours into some into time in imperial superpower.

I karge number of Rome's European neighbours into something into superpower. large number a rival imperial superpower.

## "The Whole North into Gaul"

THE FULL FEROCITY of this extraordinary new war machine was THE FULL PERSONNEL by the east Roman Empire, whose Balkan felt in the first instance by the east Roman Empire, whose Balkan felt in the suffered heavily in 441/2 and again in 447. After the ommunus of the 447 campaign, the east Romans had nothing left two union in Attila's direction. Hence, in 449, their resorting to the assassination attempt in which Maximinus and Priscus found themselves unwittingly embroiled. Still Attila didn't let Constantinople off the hook Having refused to settle the matter of the fugitives and repeated his demands for the establishment of a cordon sanitaire inside the Danube frontier, he now added another: that the east Romans should provide a nobly born wife (with an appropriate dowry) for his Roman-born secretary. These demands, if unsatisfied, were possible pretexts for war, and his constant agitating shows that Attila was still actively considering another major assault on the Balkans.

In 450, the diplomatic mood was to change abruptly. A new Roman embassy followed the same path north that Priscus and Maximinus had trodden the previous year. This one comprised Anatoone of the two most senior military commanders at the eastern Court (magister militum praesentalis), and Nomus, the Master of Offices Magister officiorum). Anatolius was well known to Attila, having negotiated the interim peace deal that had followed the Hunnic victories of 47. It is hard the should 47. It is hard to think of a grander ambassadorial duo - that he should beat only a state of the should be the sho treat only with the noblest had been one of Attila's stipulations. The Roman vices of Attila's riscus: 'At first Roman view of what happened next is recorded by Priscus: 'At first Attila negon' Anila negotiated arrogantly, but he was overwhelmed by the number

of their gifts and mollified by their words of appeasement

Attila swore that he would keep the peace on the same territory borders. Attila swore that he would remain the Roman territory bordering the Romans did not are matter of that he would withdraw mount cease to press the matter of the providing the Romans did not again receive of the providing the Romans did not again receive of the state of the providing the Romans did not again receive of the providing the receiver of Danube and that he would be a state of the fugitives ... providing the Romans did not again receive of the who fled from him. He also freed Vigilas ... I state of the vigilas ... I st fugitives ... providing use ... He also freed Vigilas of the fugitives who fled from him. He also freed Vigilas of the fugitives without ransom, gratifying Anatolic and Anato fugitives who fled from without ransom, gratifying Anatolius [who were] given gifts of horses and skins of large number of prisoners and skins of horses and skins of wild

Rarely can an international summit have had such a satisfactor, unck to Constantinople rode the jubilant ambana. Rarely can an international outcome. Back to Constantinople rode the jubilant ambassadon, them Attila's secretary, who was to be found a satisfactory. outcome. Back to Communication ambassadon bringing with them Attila's secretary, who was to be found a suitable

what quickly emerged, however, was that Attila had settled with Constantinople not because – as the stereotypical barbarian – he had been of his east Roman interest. been blown away by the wisdom of his east Roman interlocutors, by because he wanted a secure eastern front, having decided on a massive invasion of the Roman west.

As Priscus tells it, in launching this new attack Attila was mot vated by his hunger for further and greater conquests, thereby playing out the destiny that the gods intended for him - as his finding of the sword of Mars proclaimed - to conquer the entire world On his embassy to the Huns, Priscus had at some point in the summer of 449 witnessed Attila acting in what seemed to him an unreasonable manner towards some ambassadors from the western Roman Empire Afterwards, the talk naturally turned to Attila's character, and Prixus quotes with approval what one of the ambassadors had to say on the matter:

[Attila's] great good fortune and the power which it had given him had made him so arrogant that he would not entertain just No proposals unless he thought that they were to his advantage. No previous ruler of Scythia . . . had ever achieved so much in short a s short a time. He ruled the islands of the Ocean [the Atlantic, or Westland !... West] and, in addition to the whole of Scythia, forced the Romans to pay with the script of the scri to pay tribute ... and, in order to increase his empire further, be now wanted ... now wanted to attack the Persians.53

someone then asked how Attila proposed to get to Persia from central which the reply was that the Huns remembered the which at the north Black Sea coast all the when asked now recting proposed to get to Persia from central when the reply was that the Huns remembered that, if when to which Black Sea coast all the way to the end followed the north Black sea coast all the way to the end followed without having to cross Roman followed without having to cross Roman followed without having to cross Roman followed the without having to cross Roman followed the without having to cross Roman followed the replacement of the replacem meone which the repriy to the riuns remembered that, if to which north Black Sea coast all the way to the end, you followed the north having to cross Roman territory. The following there without having to cross Roman territory. purple, wed the norm having to cross Roman territory. True, of without here wishout having to cross Roman territory. True, of get without better wind get get going with the Caucasus would be an extremely long with but going the Huns had done this - in and the Huns had done this - in an cond, you there will the Caucasus would be an extremely long trek, only but going the Huns had done this - in 395/6, as far as we have last time the Huns north of the Rhadout going via the Huns had done this - in 395/6, as far as we know out the living north of the Black Sea, not on the god the had been living further west A-1 of the last time the living north of the Black Sea, not on the Great the had been living much further west. Ambitious plans of the her plain so much further west. had been uving much further west. Ambitious plans of conquest, they plain so much further west. Ambitious plans of conquest, they face of it, were being drawn up on the strenoth hungarian plain so more being drawn up on the strength of halfthungarian face of it, were was pure lust for conquest,
an the face geography: here was pure lust for conquest thurse face of it, which here was pure lust for conquest aching to the membered geography: here was pure lust for conquest aching to the known world.

remember the known world. But, as we know, Attila went west instead. The sources transmit a But, as we know, the did so. According to one juicy piece of court writty of reasons why he did so the western Roman Empire he led his armies into the western Roman Empire he posip, he led his armies into the western Roman Empire because the posip, the western emperor Valentinian III. a high series posip, he led the western emperor Valentinian III, a high-spirited lady of ster of the western by the name of Justa Grata Honorical Position of the stamina by the name of Justa Grata Honorical Position of the stamina by the name of Justa Grata Honorical Position of the stamina by the name of Justa Grata Honorical Position of the stamina by the name of Justa Grata Honorical Position of the stamina by the name of Justa Grata Honorical Position of the stamina by the name of Justa Grata Honorical Position of the stamina by the name of Justa Grata Honorical Position of the stamina by the name of Justa Grata Honorical Position of the stamina by the name of Justa Grata Honorical Position of the stamina by the name of Justa Grata Honorical Position of the stamina by the name of Justa Grata Honorical Position of the stamina by the name of Justa Grata Honorical Position of the stamina by the name of Justa Grata Honorical Position of the stamina by the name of Justa Grata Honorical Position of the stamina by the name of Justa Grata Honorical Position of the stamina by the name of Justa Grata Honorical Position of the stamina by the name of Justa Grata Honorical Position of the stamina by the name of Justa Grata Honorical Position of the stamina by the name of the stamina by the name of the stamina by ister of the working by the name of lusta Grata Honoria, offered him onliderable stamina by the half the western Emiliary considerable smarriage with half the western Empire as her dowry. her hand in the sent him a brooch with her portrait on it, along supposedly, she sent him a brooch with her portrait on it, along supposeury, and this was enough to ensnare him. Honoria was the with a letter, the formidable Galla Placidia who had a fondness for baughter of the formidable Galla Placidia who had a fondness for cauguter of the charge of the home a son to Alaric's brother-in-law Athaulf in the 410s. Placidia, with her Gothic bodyguard, had had what it took to play a major political role, until Aetius took over.

Having fallen pregnant, her daughter Honoria was caught in an ilicit love affair with her business manager, a certain Eugenius. Eugenius was executed, and Honoria removed from public life and betrothed to a dull senator by the name of Herculianus. It was in her distress and frustration that she had written to the lord of the Huns and asked him to rescue her. But the story gives one pause. Even after it was discovered that she had written to Attila she escaped death, and was handed over to the custody of her mother; but before, irritatingly, breaking off in mid-sentence, the pertinent Priscus fragment hints that further escapades followed. Honoria's antics are too well documented for there not to be some grain of truth in them,54 but I don't believe that she was the reason why Attila eventually preferred the west lonan to the Persian option. Just consider the geography. As we will the in a more the in a moment, having decided to attack the west, Attila did not rush wards ltaly, where Honoria was incarcerated, but first attacked Gaul. While no doubt sketchy, Attila's knowledge of European good enough for us to be sure he knew on which side geography the his putative bride. We don't know when of the his While no doubt sketchy, Attua's Michael of European was good enough for us to be sure he knew on which side geographics likely to find his putative bride. We don't know what likely to find his putative bride of Hungary, the Lither that the side of the side o was good enough for us to be sure the winew on which side geograph he was likely to find his putative bride. We don't know what what what the harden has been than left into Italy, and that's he was likely to find his putative blue. We don't know what the fine happened to Honoria. Heading west out of Hungary, the Hungary, the Hungary and that's enough that the true true that the true the true that the true that the happened to Honoria. Heading west that left into Italy, and that's enough to relegate Honoria to a historical footnote.

If to relegate Honoria to a must have the sources indicate that rescuing Honoria was only one of seven have the west. Another was a The sources indicate that resources invasion of the west. Another was only one of seven reasons proposed for Attila's invasion of the west. Another was the conversation in the reasons proposed for Attua s in the conversation in the conversation in the concerning person the concerning person the issue that had prompted the summer of 449 in which his possible ambitions concerning persia had been sent to any summer of 449 in which has personal been raised. That particular western embassy had been sent to answer by the name of Silvanus answer. been raised. That particular the charge that a Roman banker by the name of Silvanus was he come gold plate that was Attila's by right of come possession of some gold plate that was Attila's by right of conquest the matter was, Attila was threatening war if it possession of some gold plant.

Trivial though the matter was, Attila was threatening war if it was not conquest.

There are also vague, but quite conduction. Trivial though the matter was, settled to his satisfaction. There are also vague, but quite convincing of contact at this date between Attila and Convincing settled to his sausiacuton. hints of some kind of contact at this date between Attila and Geisent who is said to have bribed Attila to make the same convincing to the same convincing king of the Vandals, who is said to have bribed Attila to turn his armies westwards. Late in 450, Attila backed a different candidate for the recently vacant kingship of the Ripuarian Franks from the one Aetius had chosen to support. He had also recently given sanctuary to one of the leaders of a rebellion in north-west Gaul defeated by Actius in 448. This suggests that Attila had in mind the possibility of using him to stir up trouble and to smooth the path of any Hunnic amy operating in the west. Once his armies were on the move, in much the same vein the Hun sent out some mutually contradictory letters to different recipients, some of which claimed that the purpose of his campaign was to attack not the western Empire but the Visigoths of south-west Gaul, while others urged those same Visigoths to join him in attacking the Empire."

What emerges, therefore, is that Attila was simultaneously juggling with several possible pretexts for an attack on the western Empire in the years 449 and 450, as he prepared his next move. Whether and attack on Persia was ever seriously contemplated I doubt, but in 449 he still hadn't decided whether to launch his next assault upon the eastern or the western half of the Empire; and he was not only stiming up trouble with the west, but also refusing to settle outstanding issued Conwith Constantinople. The generous treaty he eventually granted Constantinople and in the stantinople was the sign that he was ready to tie up loose ends in the east, having set his sights on the west.

Attila's massive army surged westwards out of the following the route taken by the probably following the army consists. surged westwards out of the following the route taken by the Rhine probably following the route taken by the Rhine panube, probably that the army consisted of a staggerine Linder of 406. It is said that the army consisted of a staggerine Linder of 406. out of the men, reported Jordanes, in his choice of words revealing the figure; but the men, he didn't believe the figure; but the "It is said the army consisted of a staggering halfwidth of 406. It is said the army consisted of a staggering halfmodern of reported Jordanes, in his choice of words revealing that
modern men, reported Jordanes, the figure; but there is no doubting the
modern men, he didn't believe the figure; but there is no doubting the
modern men, he didn't believe that Attila was drawning. moders of the force, or that Attila was drawing on the full recommendation of the force of the force, or that Assidonius Accionate the full recommendation machine. As Sidonius Accionate the full recommendation of the force, or that Attila was drawing on the full recommendation of the force, or that Attila was drawing on the full recommendation. ndion the didn't believe the figure; but there is no doubting the force, or that Attila was drawing on the full resources of the force, or that As Sidonius Apollinaris, a more figure of the force, or that Attila was drawing on the full resources was machine. As Sidonius Apollinaris, a more figure force, but it: of the Hunnic war machine. As Sidonius Apollinaris, a more or less of the Hunnic Gallic poet, put it:

of the river Gallic poet, put it: suddenly the barbarian world, rent by a mighty upheaval, poured suddenly the barbarian Gaul. After the warlike Rugian at the control of the c Suddenly the Dailbail Gaul. After the warlike Rugian comes the whole north into Gelonian close by; the Rugian comes the Genid, with the Gelonian close by; the whole north the Gelonian close by; the Burgundian urges ferce Gepid, with the Gelonian the Hun. the Ballferce Gepia, with forward rush the Hun, the Bellonotian, the the Bastarnian, the Thuringian the Bastarnian, the Thuringian the Bastarnian. on the Schlain, the Bastarnian, the Thuringian, the Bructeran, and the Neurian,

sidonius was writing metred poetry, and required names of the right sidonius was to make it work. What he gives us here is an leight and stress to make it work what he gives us here is an length and state of ancient groups who had nothing to do with the interesting mixture of ancient groups who had nothing to do with the Humic Empire (Gelonian, Bellonotian, Neurian, Bastarnian, Bructeran) and real subjects of Attila (Rugian, Gepid, Burgundian, Scirian, Thuringian and Frank), not to mention, of course, the Huns themselves. But, in essence, Sidonius was spot on. And we know from other sources that large numbers of Goths were also present.58

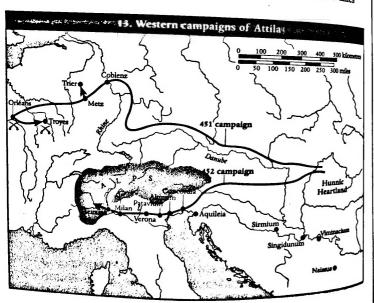
No surviving source describes the campaign in detail, but we know roughly what happened. Having followed the Upper Danube northwestwards out of the Great Hungarian Plain, the horde crossed the Rhine in the region of Coblenz and continued west (map 13). According to some admittedly fairly dubious sources, the city of Metz fell on 7 April, shortly followed by the old imperial capital of Trier. The army then thrust into the heart of Roman Gaul. By June, it was outside the dty of Orléans, where a considerable force of Alans in Roman service had their headquarters. The city was placed under heavy siege; there are hints that Attila was hoping to lure Sangibanus, king of some of the Alans based in the city, over to his side. 59 At the same time, according to another pretty dubious source, elements of the army had also reached the gates of Paris, where they were driven back by the miraculous intervention of the city's patron Saint Genevieve. It looks as if the Liver of the city's patron Saint Genevieve. as if the Hunnic army was swarming far and wide over Roman Gaul, looting and ransacking as it went.

Actius was still generalissimo of the west, and as we know the west from at least 443. Whe possible Aetius was still generalissimo Merobaudes' second panegyric, he had been anticipating the know the later. he sprang into When is Merobaudes' second panegyine, and at least 443 When it is not together action, Plant of a Hunnic assault on uncontained and a Hunnic assault on uncontained and a Hunnic assault on uncontained and materialized, nearly a decaue tactor, action, part for this enormous threat, he strove to put together a coalition of the material with contingents of the material saw. this enormous threat, he success. Early summer as that would stand some chance of success. Early summer as of the Roman and allied and saw here. that would stand some chance advancing north through Gaul with contingents of the Roman and Gaul, plus forces from many allied groups, such and standard through the contingents of the Roman and groups, such as the continue of the Roman and groups, such as the continue of the Roman and groups, such as the continue of the Roman and groups, such as the continue of the Roman and groups. advancing north through Gaul, plus forces from many allied groups, such as the Aquitainian Visigoths under their king Thends the of Italy and Gaul, plus 101CCs ...

Burgundians and the Aquitainian Visigoths under their king Theoderic compelled Anni Burgundians and the Aquitannelle On 14 June, the approach withdrawal from Orléans. Later in the same month, Aetius in the vicinic withdrawal from Oticais. \_\_\_\_\_ to the retreating horde somewhere in the vicinity of

On a plain called by different sources the Catalaunian fields of the conclusively identical to the conclusive of the conclusiv On a piam cancer, which has never been conclusively identified, a huge

The battlefield was a plain rising by a sharp slope to a ridge, which both armies sought to gain . . . The Huns with their forces seized the right side, the Romans, the Visigoths and their allies



The battleline of the Huns was so arranged that Attila ... The innumeration The battlemise were in the centre... The innumerable which he had subjected to his swamped that Attila the left bravest followers which he had subjected to his swamped his bravest tribes, which he had subjected to his swamped his of diverse tribes. the less bravest followers which he had subjected to his sway, which he had subjected to his sway, so the prophes the wings.

339

former Visigoths reached the ridge first and thwarted every the Romans and Visigoths so our main source tells us, but then the not to dislodge them - so our main source tells us, but then the not to dislodge them. the Romans and visigous – so our main source tells us, but then lapses at the source tells us, but then lapses are the source tells us, but the source tells us, but the source tells us, but then lapses are the source tells us, but t atempt to assume the pretty good rhetoric it is):

The fight grew fierce, confused, monstrous, unrelenting – a fight The fight grew inches time has ever recorded . . . A brook flowing whose like no ancient time has swollen by a strange low banks . . . was swollen by a strange low banks . . . whose like no ancient. . . was swollen by a strange stream and between low banks . . . was flow of blood. Those with the flow of blood. between low parameters by the flow of blood. Those whose wounds named into a torrent by the flow of blood. Those whose wounds the to slake their parching thirst draph numed into a total their parching thirst drank water mingled drove them to slake their parching thirst drank water mingled

Theoderic was killed in the fighting, either struck by a spear or Theoderic was a spear or trampled to death when he fell from his horse, but the accounts of his trampled to death are confusing. Again according to our main source, a total of death are conditioned, but this figure is nonsense. At the end of the day's fighting, Attila was distraught. Forced back inside a defensive wagon ricle, for the first time ever his army had suffered a major defeat. His mitial reaction was to heap up saddles to make his own funeral pyre. But his lieutenants persuaded him that the battle was only a tactical check, and he relented. A stalemate followed, with the two armies facing each other, until the Huns began slowly to retreat. Aetius didn't press them too hard, and disbanded his coalition of forces as quickly as possible - a task made much easier by the fact that the Visigoths were keen to return to Toulouse to sort out the succession to their dead king. Attila consented to his army's continued withdrawal and, tails between their legs, the Huns returned to Hungary. Although the cost to the Roman communities in the Huns' line of march was enormous, Attila's first assault on the west had been repulsed. Yet again, Aetius had delivered at the moment of crisis. Despite the limited resources available, he had put together a coalition that had saved Gaul.

In his wrath, the Hun spent the winter of 451/2 limbering up for yet more violence. This time the blow fell on Italy. In the spring of 452, his force broke through the Alpine passes. The first obstacle in their past. their path was Aquileia. Here they were held up by the city's massive defences - Attila even contemplated calling off the whole campaign.

On the point of bringing their long and frustrating slege to a stork shipping its young out of the nest that it had built in the couldn't had built On the point of bringing their long and materialing slege to saw a stork shipping its young out of the nest that it had built of the city's towers, carrying one by one those that it had built in the couldn't year the bird would never have room still in the stil of the city's towers, carrying one of the city's to Seeing this, Priscus tells us, ne or would never have gone still in the forestelling that some disaster would strike the place very show in the mention Attila). Was well show in the place very show in the p same place, saying that the DILL WOLLD TRAVE RONE Same place, saying that some disaster would strike the place of the place very thought the strongholds promptly the the place very thought the strongholds promptly the the place very thought the strongholds promptly the s was foretelling that some cusaster.

The stork, of course (not to mention Attila), was right the story should be skill at taking fortified strongholds prevailed, and he had a capture opened up the line of the line. precocious skill at taking rotunes prevailed, and how fell to them in short order. Its capture opened up the main route in

th-eastern Italy.

The horde then followed the ancient Roman roads west across the western Emmi. The horde then romowed the political heartlands of the western Empire at rich, this region was endowed with many process. Po Plain. One of the political agriculturally rich, this region was endowed with many prosperous in the Balkans, one after the other these cities are the other the other these cities are the other agriculturally rich, this region.

cities. Now, as in the Balkans, one after the other these cities followed the these cities followed the cities cities. Now, as in the painter, the Huns, and they took in swift succession Padua, Mantua, Vicentia and Rergamo (map 13). Now Attila was at al. Verona, Brescia and Bergamo (map 13). Now Attila was at the gate imperial capital. The siege was properly of Milan, a long-time imperial capital. The siege was protracted by of Milan, a long-unite market but again Attila triumphed, and another centre of Empire was looted but again Attila triumphed, and another centre of Empire was looted but again Attila triumphed, and another centre of Empire was looted but again Attila triumphed, and another centre of Empire was looted but again Attila triumphed, and another centre of Empire was looted but again Attila triumphed, and another centre of Empire was looted but again Attila triumphed, and another centre of Empire was looted but again Attila triumphed, and another centre of Empire was looted but again Attila triumphed, and another centre of Empire was looted but again Attila triumphed, and another centre of Empire was looted but again Attila triumphed, and another centre of Empire was looted but again Attila triumphed, and another centre of Empire was looted but again Attila triumphed, and another centre of Empire was looted but again attilation and another centre of Empire was looted but again attilation and another centre of Empire was looted but again attilation and another centre of Empire was looted but again attilation and another centre of Empire was looted but again attilation and another centre of Empire was looted but again attilation and another centre of Empire was looted but again attilation and another centre of Empire was looted but again attilation and another centre of Empire was looted but again attilation and another centre of Empire was looted but again attilation and another centre of Empire was looted but again attilation attilation and another centre of Empire was looted but again attilation attilation attilation attilation attilation and another centre of Empire was looted but attilation sacked. A fragment of Priscus' history preserves a nice vignette:

When [Attila] saw [in Milan] in a painting the Roman Emperors sitting upon golden thrones and Scythians lying dead before their feet, he sought out a painter and ordered him to paint Attila upon a throne and the Roman emperors heaving sacks upon their shoulders and pouring out gold before his feet.

But, as in Gaul the previous year, Attila's Italian campaign failed to go entirely to plan. Papal sources and Hollywood scriptwriters love to focus on one incident in particular when, after the capture of Milan Pope Leo, as part of a peace embassy that included the Prefet Trygetius and ex-consul Avienus, met Attila to try to persuade im not to attack the city of Rome. In the end, the Huns did tum back retreating to Hungary once again.

In some circles this went down as a great personal triumph for the Pope in face-to-face diplomacy. Reality was more prosaic. Other forces apart from the God-guided Leo were at work. Attila's Italian campaign essentially a series of sieges, lacked substantial logistic support, and in their -C in their often cramped conditions the Hunnic army was vulnerable more was all and the more wa more ways than one. The chronicler Hydatius put it succinctly.

Huns who had Huns who had been plundering Italy and who had also stormed a

were victims of divine punishment, being visited with and some kind of disease.' By the disease was taking a heavy to mured, disease was taking a heavy to mured, disease was taking a heavy to mured. number of diseasers: famine and some kind of disease. By the time time disease was taking a heavy toll, and food running captured, disease was taking a heavy toll, and food running was captured. Also, Constantinople now have mumber of disasters: manner was taking a heavy toll, and food running heaven sent disasters. Constantinople now had a new rules wild was short. Also, Constantinople now had a new rules wild arousty short and his forces, together wild arousty short and his forces, together wild arousty short. The street was captured, constantinople now had a new ruler, the was short. Also, Constantinople now had a new ruler, the wild was short and his forces, together with what Aetius could have from idle: 'In addition [pl-] was short. Also, together with what Aetius could put singerously short and his forces, together with what Aetius could put singerously marcian, and his forces, together with what Aetius could put singerously were far from idle: 'In addition, [the Huns] were slaughter, were far from idle: 'Emperor Marcian and his the Emperor Marcian and his together were slaughter. Angerous Marcian, and his forces, together with what Aetius could put emperor Marcian, were far from idle: 'In addition, [the Huns] were slaughtered emperor were far by the Emperor Marcian and led by Aetine and of Marsian 182 House they were crushed in their settlements by both Land and the same time they were crushed in their settlements by both Land army of Marsian 182 House they were crushed in their settlements by both Land army of Marsian 182 House they were crushed in their settlements by both Land army of Marsian 182 House they were crushed in their settlements by both Land army of Marsian 182 House they were crushed in their settlements by both Land army of Marsian 182 House they were crushed in their settlements by both Land army of Marsian 182 House they were the crushed in their settlements by both Land army of Marsian 182 House they were crushed in their settlements by both Land army of Marsian 182 House they were crushed in their settlements by both Land army of Marsian 182 House they were crushed in their settlements by both Land army of Marsian 182 House they were crushed in their settlements by both Land army of Marsian 182 House they were crushed in their settlements by both Land army of Marsian 182 House they were crushed in their settlements by both Land army of Marsian 182 House they were crushed in their settlements by both Land army of Marsian 182 House they were crushed in the country of Marsian 182 House they were crushed in the country of Marsian 182 House they were crushed the country of Marsian 182 House they were crushed the country of Marsian 182 House they were crushed the country of Marsian 182 House they were crushed the country of Marsian 182 House they were crushed the country of Marsian 182 House they were crushed the country of Marsian 182 House they were crushed the country of Marsian 182 House they were crushed the country of Marsian 182 House they were crushed the country of Marsian 182 House they were crushed the country of Marsian 182 House the countr ogeniaries sent by the crushed in their settlements by both heavenby same time they were crushed in their settlements by both heavenbe same and the army of Marcian. '62 It looks as though with the same have have heavenbe size because the same have have been ha the looks as though, while the sent disasters and the was being harassed by Aetius leading a joint east-sent disasters forces were launching a raid north force, other eastern forces were launching a raid north force, other eastern forces were launching a raid north force, other eastern forces were launching a raid north force, other eastern forces were launching a raid north force, other eastern forces were launching a raid north force, other eastern forces were launching a raid north force. phunic army in many other eastern forces were launching a raid north of the mest force, other easternand. The combination was deadle panule, into Attila's heartland. The combination was deadly, and, as panule, into Attila's heartland no choice but to retreat the Hun had no choice but to retreat the hadron of the hadr punbe, into huma see Hun had no choice but to retreat. With some in the previous year, the Hun had no choice but to retreat. With some in the previous year, the Hun had no choice but to retreat. With some in the previous year, the Hun had no choice but to retreat. in the previous year, and operation, his army rolled back into central and of peace or truce in operation, his army rolled back into central

If 451 was itself no more than a tactical check, two major defeats Europe.63 16 451 Was put a substantial dent in the great conqueror's many years put a substantial dent in the great conqueror's in as many your reputation. These western campaigns were much more difficult to reputation. Attila's Balkan adventures of the previous decade. The Hunnic Empire did not have the bureaucratic machinery of its The running that might be. As far as we Roman counterpart, however lumbering that might be. As far as we know, it ran to one Roman-supplied secretary at a time, and a prisoner called Rusticius who was kept for his skill at writing letters in Greek and Latin. Nothing suggests that the Huns had any equivalent, therefore, of the Romans' capacity for planning and putting in place the necessary logistic support, in terms of food and fodder, for major campaigns. No doubt, when the word went out to assemble for war, each warrior was expected to bring a certain amount of food along with him, but as the campaign dragged on, the Hunnic army was bound to be living mainly off the land. Hence, in campaigns over longer distances, the difficulties involved in maintaining the army as an effective fighting force increased exponentially. Fatigue as well as the likelihood of food shortages and disease increased with distance. There was also every chance that the army would spread so widely over an unfamiliar landscape in search of supplies that it would be the Balken and Scape in search of supplies the Balken of the Balken and Scape in Search of Supplies that the Balkan campaigns, for their first major battle Attila's armies had marched west along the northern line of the Haemus Mountains, west along the northern line of the Haemus ....

A SHOW WE KIND OF THE WAR WITH

west to the Chersonesus for their second: a total distance of some kilometres. In 451, the army had to cover the distance of some tindes; and in 452 distance of some tindes. west to the Chersonesus for uses some distance of some to Orléans, about 1,200 kilometres; and in 452 from the distance from the first time they were lavin. like 500 kilometres. In 451, the army and to cover the distance from him they were laying siege with the distance from him to the distance from hi Hungary to Orléans, about 1,200 kilotics, and in 452 from the which made them yet more susceptible to disease at the work such was a such was the su to Milan, perhaps 800, but this were susceptible to disease at the went, which made them yet more susceptible to disease at the went, which made them yet more susceptible to disease at the went was distanced and his forces were also distanced the went distanced to the went distanced to the went distanced to the went was distanced to the went distance went, which made them yet more to disease at the historians have commented, in campaigns covering such vast distance were almost historians have read to the such vast distance to disease at the historians have commented. historians have commented, in Campaigne Covering such value into the western Empire, Attila and his forces were almost bound to the lesson. Early in 453, he would be the lesson.

bing vet another destructive campaign across the Burner of God went to make the Burner of God went to make the Burner of Burner to make the Burner of Cod went to make the Burner of Cod w of launching yet another ucourge of God went to meet his employed another wife (we don't know how many he know landscape, when finally use second landscape, which is second landscape, which is second landscape, and the second landscape landscape, which is second landscape, and the second second landscape, He had just taken anounce when too much, burst a blood very bride was too scared to raise the alarm, and was too total). On his wedding mg.n. and to raise the alarm, and was found and died. His bride was too scared to raise the alarm, and was found and died. His bride was an orgy of mo... and died. His bride was too beside the corpse in the morning. The funeral was an orgy of mounting as Iordanes describes:

His body was placed ... in state in a silken tent ... The best horsemen of the entire tribe of the Huns rode around in circles ... and told of his deeds[:] 'The Chief of the Huns, King Atrila born of his father Mundiuch, lord of the bravest tribes, sole possessor of the Scythian and German realms - powers previously unknown - captured cities and terrified both empires of the Roman world and, appeased by their entreaties, took annual tribute to save the rest from plunder. And when he had accomplished all this ... he fell not by wound of the foe, nor by treachery of friends, but in the midst of his nation at peace, happy in his joy and without sense of pain.'

### When the wake had finished:

In the secrecy of the night they buried his body in the earth. They bound his coffins, the first with gold, the second with silver and the third with the strength of iron . . . iron because he subdued the nations, gold and silver because he received the honours of both empires. They also added the arms of foemen won in the fight, trappings of rare worth, sparkling with various gems, and ornaments of all sorts ... then ... they slew those appointed w the work.65

# The Huns and Rome

the Roman world of the rise of the Hunnic upon the Roman world of the rise of the Hunnic upon the Broken down into three phases. The first, as we make the broken down into three phases. The first, as we make the broken down into three phases. The first, as we make the broken down into three phases. The first, as we make the broken down into three phases. BFFBCT upon into three phases. The first, as we saw in the broken down into three phases. The first, as we saw in the broken down into three phases. The first, as we saw in the same and 5, generated two great moments of crisis and 5, generated two great moments of crisis. The first, as we saw in the be broken down the two great moments of crisis on the suppliers 4 and 5, generated two great moments of crisis on the capter for the Roman Empire, during 376–80 and 405–8, forcing the content of the cont we saw in great moments of crisis on the same of the Roman Empire, during 376-80 and 405-8, forcing it to the Roman its soil the establishment of enclaves of unexample of these enclaves. the Rollian the establishment of enclaves of unsubdued fonter for the soil the establishment of enclaves of unsubdued fonter upon its soil these enclaves in turn created new property upon The existence of these enclaves in turn created new property upon the existence of these enclaves in turn created new property upon the existence of these enclaves in turn created new property upon the existence of these enclaves in turn created new property upon the existence of these enclaves in turn created new property upon the existence of these enclaves in turn created new property upon the existence of these enclaves in turn created new property upon the existence of these enclaves in turn created new property upon the existence of these enclaves in turn created new property upon the existence of these enclaves in turn created new property upon the existence of these enclaves in turn created new property upon the existence of these enclaves in turn created new property upon the existence of these enclaves in turn created new property upon the existence of these enclaves in turn created new property upon the existence of these enclaves in turn created new property upon the existence of these enclaves in turn created new property upon the existence of the fonte: upon its sour created new and, as scorpt upon the existence of these enclaves in turn created new and, as what in Chapter 6, hugely damaging centrifugal forces with the second of the second o The existence of hugely damaging centrifugal forces within the second phase, in the generation 1. The second phase in the generation 1. More than Chapter of the second phase, in the generation before the body politic. In the second phase, in the generation before the Huns evolved from invaders into empire-builders in printe, body political from invaders into empire-builders in central house the flow of refugees into Roman territory and the flow of refugees into Roman territory can be flow of refugees into Roman territory and the flow of refugees into Roman territory can be flow of refugees into Roman territory and the flow of refugees into Roman territory httla, and the flow of refugees into Roman territory ceased. The purple, and strove to bring potential to exploit, and strove to bring potential to exploit. and the now to exploit, and strove to bring potential candi-gurope, and the now to exploit, and strove to bring potential candi-gurope, and subjects to exploit, and strove to bring potential candi-gurope, and the now to exploit, and strove to bring potential candi-gurope, and the now to exploit, and strove to bring potential candi-gurope, and the now to exploit, and strove to bring potential candi-gurope, and the now to exploit, and strove to bring potential candi-gurope, and the now to exploit, and strove to bring potential candi-gurope, and the now to exploit, and strove to bring potential candi-gurope, and the now to exploit to e Wanted subjects to oring potential candi-Hulls wanted control. In this era, too, Constantius and Aetius were able hates under control the immigrant but under control the immigrant groups who make use of Hunnic power to control the immigrant groups who make use of Hunnic power to control the immigrant groups who no make use of these groups was actually destroyed. had previously come of these groups was actually destroyed, however, the since none of phase two of the Hunnic immediate of phase two of the Hunnic immediate of phase two of the Hunnic immediates of the phase two of the p since none or sold phase two of the Hunnic impact upon the Roman pulsative effects of phase two of the damage dome in the Roman pallianve the damage done in phase one.

Artila's massive military campaigns of the 440s and early 450s mark the third phase in Hunnic-Roman relations. Their effects, as one might epect, were far-reaching. The east Roman Empire's Balkan provinces were devastated, with thousands killed as one stronghold after another was taken. As the remains of Nicopolis ad Istrum so graphically show, Roman administration might be restored but not so the Latin- and Greek-speaking landowning class that had grown up over the preceding four centuries. The Gallic campaign of 451, and particularly the assault won Italy in 452, inflicted enormous damage upon those unfortunate enough to find themselves in the Huns' path.

But if we step back from the immediate drama and consider the Roman state in broader terms, Attila's campaigns, though serious, were an life-threatening. The eastern half of the Roman Empire depended on the tax it collected from a rich arc of provinces stretching from Asia Minor to Egypt, territories out of reach of the Huns. For all the latter's technology, the triple landwalls surrounding Constantinople made the eastern capital impregnable; and the Huns had no navy to the them across the narrow straits that separated the Balkans from the nich provinces of Asia. A similar situation prevailed in the west. By the time of Attila, it was already feeling a heavy financial seen, but given the logistic limitations of the Hunnic ame nowhere near to conquering it. In fact thinks the time of Attila, it was already recurs a ready financial have seen, but given the logistic limitations of the Hunnic and rectly inflicted upon the structure and the struct have seen, Due 5 machine, Attila came nowhere near to conquering it. In fact, the influx of armed immigrants between 376 and 408. Moreover that that how to be the influx of the influx of the age of Attila that how to be the seen. machine, Attna serious damage was indirectly inneced upon the structure, far to by the influx of armed immigrants between 376 and 408. Moreover of the west Roman state. Because the least of the state of the state. by the influx of armed immigration by the influx of armed immigration by the influx of armed immigration of the age of Attila that hold that the posed of Arrila Aerius had a Because had a state of the ha was again the indirect effects of the west Roman state. Because he had less time and the had less time and he had threat to the integrity of the west to the integrity of the west to the Roman west in the had less time and less t concentrate on dealing with factoring, resources for tackling other threats to the Roman west in the large other threats cost the western Empire much more dealing with the large of 451 and 452. The first and large of the large of the first and large of the large of resources for tackling other united to the western Empire much in the way and these other threats cost the western Empire much more deal to the Hunnic invasions of 451 and 452. The first and more deal to the recondition of the reconditions with the second terms of the reconditions. And these other threats cost the first and 452. The first and most death than the Hunnic invasions of 451 and 452. The first and most death the enforced abandonment of the reconquest of North Act than the Hunnic invasions of the reconquest of North African Vandals.

n the Vandals.

In such circumstances, most unfortunately, Aetius could give into the Vandale. In such circumstances, increase the departure of the Vandals in some restoration of Roman order, and some reclamation or the reclamation or the source or the reclamation or help to the Iberian permission.

429 had seen some restoration of Roman order, and some reclamation that had been lost in the 410s. The Hispanic manner of the Vandalis in the 410s. of the revenues that had been lost in the 410s. The Hispanic province developed, and, if no match for the abundance of the revenues that had been somether than the abundance of the abundance of a valued contributor to western coffee. North Africa, were still a valued contributor to western coffers. In the North Africa, were start a start and fallen out of direct Roman control in the north-east, as the Vandala at Control except for Tarraconensis in the north-east, as the Vandals, Alans and Suevi shared out the rest. After 429, only the Suevi remained in large numbers, confined to the least prosperous north-western upland zone of Gallaecia. Aetius, like his predecessors, was happy to leave then there, seeing no need to risk valuable troops for its recovery. Instead he concentrated his efforts on restoring order and on maintaining the flow of funds from the richer provinces abandoned by the Vandals and Alans, until he was interrupted by Geiseric's seizure of Carthage.

Under their new king Rechila, who succeeded his father in 438,the Suevi took advantage of Aetius' preoccupation with North Africa to expand their dominion. In 439, they moved out of Gallaecia to take Merida, the main city of the neighbouring province of Lusitania. In 440, they captured Aetius' military commander and main represent tive in the peninsula, the comes (count) Censorius. In 441, they took Seville and extended their control over the whole of Baetica and Carthaginiensis. The lack of any concerted response from Aerius, who was now frantically gathering his forces in Sicily, gave local self-life groups, the Bagaudae, the chance to undermine central control in part of Tarmers. of Tarraconensis, the one province still in imperial hands. As had been

Gaul, these uprisings were probably assertions of local in Gaul, the imperial grip was perceived to be slipping in the imperial grip was perceived to be slipping in the revolts, led by one Basilius in Transfer at a property of the revolts. Gaul, these uprimings were probably assertions of local in Gaul, the imperial grip was perceived to be slipping.

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The whole at a fine who have favoured a Suevic takeover, perhaps because the hipperial grip was perceived to be slipping. by one Basilius in Tyriasso (Tirasona)

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the best way to summer peace, just as the best way to summer peace peace, just as the best way to summer peace peace, just as the best way to summer peace peace, just as the best way to summer peace peace, just as the best way to summer peace peace, just as the best way to summer peace peace, just as the best way to summer peace peace peace, just as the best way to summer peace peace peace, just as the best way to summer peace peace peace, just as the best way to summer peace ported Athault the visible went from bad to worse, then, between 439 ported and the flow of tax revenue dried up. Even after the and the flow of tax revenue dried up. porter in Span well light bau to worse, then, between 439 miles situation in Span well light of the flow of tax revenue dried up. Even after making the situation and the flow of the was little Aetius could do. I arms with the Vandals, there was little Aetius could do. I arms with the out of the question. the now of the was little Actius could do. Large-scale with the Vandals, there was little Actius could do. Large-scale with the was out of the question. A series of commander with the was out of the question. and with the vanuage, out of the question. A series of commanders were percention was out of the question. A series of commanders were introduced in Asturius in 442, Merobaudes himself in 443, and vaniage concentration. peace was out of the peace of commanders were of spain: Asturius in 442, Merobaudes himself in 443, and Vitus in and Nerobaudes concentrated on defeating the Roself Asturius and Merobaudes at least to the peace of off to Spain: Assurius and Merobaudes concentrated on defeating the Bagaudae, Assurius and Merobaudes to Tarraconensis. Vinus' Landbly so as to hold on at least to Tarraconensis. Asturius and with the least to Tarraconensis. Vitus' brief was presumably so as to hold on at least to Tarraconensis. Vitus' brief was presumably so as to hold on at least to Tarraconensis. Vitus' brief was presumably so as to hold on at least to Tarraconensis. Vitus' brief was presumably so as to find the strategy of the 410s, he led a combined more ambitious. Repeating the Carthaginiensis and Baetica prote ambitious. Repeated into Carthaginiensis and Baetica. Our main gonano-Visigothic force into Hydatius, complains about the bishop-chronicler Hydatius, complains about Romano Visigouine Romano Visigouine Romano Visigouine Romano, the bishop-chronicler Hydatius, complains about this army's informant, the bishop-chronicler was perhaps shaped by the light roman but his attitude was perhaps shaped by the phormant, the visual attitude was perhaps shaped by the expedition's plundering, but his attitude was perhaps shaped by the expedition's when Vitus' force met the Suevi in hattle plundering, but has force met the Suevi in battle, it was routed.

outcome. When Vitus' force met the Suevi in battle, it was routed. outcome. Which had, in fact, scraped together what Hydatius calls a 'not heis had, in fact, scraped together what he had, in fact, scraped together what hydatius calls a 'not heis' had, of troops for Vitus in the Acius hau, in the circumstances a fair inconsiderable' body of troops for Vitus, in the circumstances a fair inconsiderable to the importance he accorded to retrieving the Hispanic testimony to the importance he accorded to retrieving the Hispanic testimony What he clearly could not do, however, was bring down on revenues. nevenues. The full weight of the remaining western field armies, since the had to be kept in reserve to defend the Empire against Attila. This defeat confirmed the Suevi in their possession of most of the peninsula; and once again the bulk of Hispanic revenues were lost. 67

Roman Britain, too, was in its death throes. Although, despite the letter of Honorius in 410 'urging [the British] to fend for themselves' (p. 245), the Empire had no pretensions to direct control there. Roman life had survived in parts of the province, and there was a fair amount of informal contact between Romano-Britons and their continental ounterparts. In 429, then again in the early 440s, Bishop Germanus of Aurene made trips to the island to help native Christians combat the influence of Pelagian heretics.68 But heresy wasn't the only problem acing this last generation of Romano-Britons: raiders from Ireland (the Scots) and Scotland (the Picts) were troubling the western and northern tinges of the province, and Saxons from across the North Sea also took advisor. to its mandat. to its wealth. The latter had been a worry since at least the third

century, and their incursions had prompted the construction of portchester and southern shores. Some we have the forts of Portchester and some we have century, and their incursions have produce construction of fortifications along the eastern and southern shores. Some today, notably the forts of Portchester and Care of the construction fortifications along the eastern and some still stand today, notably the forts of Portchester and Caerles of the troubled on the troubled to t still stand today, notably the rolling authority in the troubled work of the cities continue in the continue don't know who was exercising don't know who was exercising sub-Roman Britain, but for a generation or so the cities troubled work sub-Roman still producing at least some tax revenues in kind or work of the monk Gildas

A sixth-century British source, the monk Gildas, reports in whom Red were eventual. A sixth-century British sound, appropriately named On the Ruin of Britain that power eventually hands of an unnamed tyrant, whom Bede names as Vonce and Vonce from the lands of the lands appropriately named On the surviving appropriately named of an unnamed tyrant, whom Bede names as vorticely to a 'council' (perhaps representatives from the surviving into the hands of an unnames of the surviving of the surv He and a 'council' (pernaps of the architecture) He and a 'council' (pernaps of the surviving some councils) decided that employing Saxon mercenaries was the surviving of the much threatened, much raided, Romanon. councils) decided that employing to the problems of the much threatened, much raided, Romano-British of what happened next is told in outline by Gildae The story of what happened next is told in outline by Gildas, who moral tale for his own times, but, as far as it may be to the problems of the industrial tale for his own times, but, as far as it may be to the problems of the industrial tale for his own times, but, as far as it may be to the problems of the industrial tale for his own times, but, as far as it may be to the problems of the industrial tale for his own times, but, as far as it may be to the problems of the industrial tale for his own times, but, as far as it may be to the industrial tale for his own times, but, as far as it may be to the industrial tale for his own times, but, as far as it may be to the industrial tale for his own times, but, as far as it may be to the industrial tale for his own times, but, as far as it may be to the industrial tale for his own times, but, as far as it may be to the industrial tale for his own times, but, as far as it may be to the industrial tale for his own times, but, as far as it may be to the industrial tale for his own times, but, as far as it may be to the industrial tale for his own times, but, as far as it may be to the industrial tale for his own times. The story of what nappened was writing a moral tale for his own times, but, as far as it goes, the

The [Saxons] ... asked to be given supplies, falsely representing themselves as soldiers ready to undergo extreme dangers for their excellent hosts. The supplies were granted and for a long time 'shut the dog's mouth'. Then they again complained that their monthly allowance was insufficient . . . and swore that they would break their agreement and plunder the whole island unless more lavish payment were heaped upon them. There was no delay. they put their threats into immediate effect.

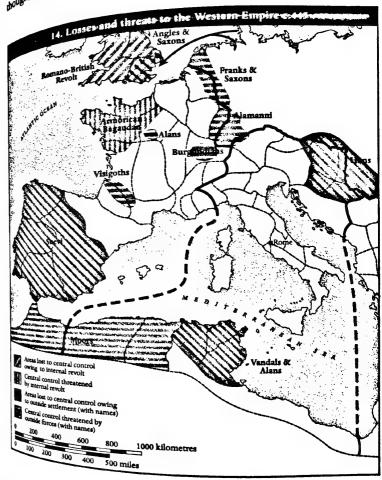
#### And the result:

All the major towns were laid low by the repeated battering of enemy rams; laid low, too, all the inhabitants - church leaders, priests and people alike, as the swords glinted all around and the flames crackled ... In the middle of the squares the foundation stones of high walls and towers that had been torn from their lofty base, holy altars, fragments of corpses covered with a purple crust of congealed blood looked as though they had been mixed up in some dreadful wine-press.

Gildas does not date the revolt - actually, he doesn't explicitly date anything anything - but two chronicles written in Gaul, whose knowledged events in Balance and control of the control of events in Britain demonstrates the continued cross-Channel cross-Channel cross-Channel cross-Channel cross-Channel cross-Channel cross-Channel cross-Channel cross-Channel cro also evident in the Life of St Germanus, note that conditions turned seriously nagery in the life of St Germanus, note that conditions turned about the seriously nasty in what remained of Roman Britain round about the

Paced with an ever-worsening situation, the Romano-British taken back under the imperial.

The date of the language final appeal to be taken back under the imperial. raced with an ever-worsening situation, the Romano-British be taken back under the imperial wing, final appeal to Aetius. The date of the letter is controversial to Aetius at that point as 'three are the point as 'three ar which final appear to Aetius. The date of the letter is controversial, but point as 'three times consul'. A Aetius at that point as 'three times consul'. A Aetius at third time in 446. So if Control of the letter is controversial, but have formally to Aetius at that point as 'three times consul'. policy formally to Aetius at that point as 'three times consul'. Aetius at the point as 'three times consul'. Aetius for the third time in 446, so if Gildas' usage is according to the third time in 446, so if Gildas' of the consul for the third time in 446, so if Gildas' usage is accurate, where consul for the third time in 446, so if Gildas' usage is accurate, cilds consul for the third time in 446, so if Gildas' usage is accurate, cilds consul for the third time in 446, so if Gildas' usage is accurate, cilds consul for the third time in 446, so if Gildas' usage is accurate, cilds consul for the third time in 446, so if Gildas' usage is accurate, cilds consul for the third time in 446, so if Gildas' usage is accurate, cilds consul for the third time in 446, so if Gildas' usage is accurate, cilds consul for the third time in 446, so if Gildas' usage is accurate, cilds consul for the third time in 446, so if Gildas' usage is accurate, cilds consul for the third time in 446, so if Gildas' usage is accurate, cilds consul for the third time in 446, so if Gildas' usage is accurate, cilds consul for the third time in 446, so if Gildas' usage is accurate, cilds consul for the third time in 446, so if Gildas' usage is accurate, cilds consul for the third time in 446, so if Gildas' usage is accurate, cilds consul for the third time in 446, so if Gildas' usage is accurate, cilds consul for the third time in 446, so if Gildas' usage is accurate, cilds consul for the third time in 446, so if Gildas' usage is accurate. cities in the brewing Hunnic tempest. Even if Gildas is the brewing holds. Aering the brewing holds. Aering the brewing holds. be appeal arrived just Hunnic tempest. Even if Gildas is wrong, the appeal of the brewing Hunnic tempest. Even if Gildas is wrong, and the general point holds. Actius was facing too many it is sufficiently the general point holds. the spr of the orevine holds. Actius was facing too many threats soly shough, the general point holds.



elsewhere to be able to answer the last desperate call of Roman bleak. The western Empire had a where to the provinces of North Africa. The whole of British The picture was bleak. The working in the picture was bleak. The picture was bleak. The working in the picture had by substantial percentage of its provinces (map 14): the whole of both of the Visigoths, plus something bank. substantial percentage of its provinces of North Africa, those parties western Gaul ceded to the Visigoths, plus south eastern with the control of the castern of the control of the castern of the caste most of Spain, the richest province and the richest province, those part to the Burgundians. Furthermore, much of the rest had a last decade or so, and the rest had a south-western Gaul cedeu to the Burgundians. Furthermore, much of the rest had save the revenues to the revenue to th ceded to the Burgundians.

seen serious fighting in the last decade or so, and the rest had the revenues for the problem from seen serious fighting in the most substantially reduced these areas too would have been substantially reduced to these areas too would have been substantially reduced to the revenues from the problem overwhelming. The Huns' interest in the revenues from the problem in the problem in the problem in the revenues from the problem in the these areas too would have been overwhelming. The problem of diminishing funds had become overwhelming. The Huns' indicates the process of attrition, in having originally pushed many pus of diminishing funds nau becomes of attrition, in having originally pushed many of immigrants across the frontier, did far more harm the 

PART THREE

FALL OF EMPIRES

# THE FALL OF THE HUNNIC EMPIRE

THE PALL OF ATTILA'S EMPIRE is an extraordinary story in its own 1HB PALL OF ATTILA'S the Huns had figured not at all in European 1HB PALL OF about AD 350, the Huns had figured not at all in European 350–410, the only Huns most Romans had encountistory. During 350–410, the only Huns most Romans had encountistory. During 350–410, the only Huns most Romans had encountistory. During a few raiding parties. Ten years later, Huns in significant where had established themselves west of the Carpathian Mountains on the Great Hungarian Plain, but they still functioned mostly as the Great Hungarian Pl

### Empire to Extinction

RECONSTRUCTING the collapse of Hunnic dominion in central Europe is a tricky proposition. Our old friend Priscus told the story in some detail, but since there was little diplomacy involved in the fall, his account hardly made it into Constantine VII's Excerpts concerning Embassies (see p. 306). For the most part we have to rely on one of the most intriguing historical works to survive from late antiquity: the Gothic History, or Getica, of Jordanes, whose voice we have already heard in earlier chapters. About ten pages of text (half of it notes) in fall of Attila's Empire. 1

Jordanes was a man of Gothic descent living in Constantinople tound the year 550, so he was writing nearly a century after the vertex we're interested in. At this point he was a monk, but had

previously served as a secretary to a Roman commander on the so was not without relevant experience. He tells on the Goths in the line of the Goths in the line of the contract that his history of the Goths in the line of the contract that his history of the contra previously served as a secretary

Danube, so was not without relevant experience. He tells on the Getica that his history of the Goths is larger to the history written by an Italo-p larger to Danube, so was not without that his history of the Goths is largely the preface to the Getica that his history written by an Italo-Roman that he was adviser to Theoderic that he was adviser to Theod preface to the Getica that history written by an Italo-Roman abridgement of a lost history written by an Italo-Roman cally abridgement. Cassiodorus was adviser to Theoderic the Amal Cally Section 1988. abridgement of a lost many abridgement of a lost Cassiodorus. Cassiodorus was accessiodorus. Cassiodorus. Cassiodorus was accessiodorus. Cassiodorus was accessiodorus was accessiodorus. Cassiodorus was accessiodorus was accessiodorus was accessiodorus was accessiodorus. Cassiodorus was accessiodorus was accessional accessi gothic king of Italy, in the sense and the s Cassiodorus' history for just that, as he puts it, 'the words I recall not, but the sense and that that, as he puts it, 'the words I recall not, but the sense and that that, as he puts it, 'the words I recall not, but the sense and that the sense and details that the sense and details that the sense and details the sense and det that, as he puts it, the worker that it is a something a put it is a something related I think I retain content of the relate fishy in this, arguing entired that he had very little to do with his model than he pretends, or that he had very little to do with his model than ne precent, his model than ne precent, him and was trying to use Cassiodorus' name for his own purpose him and was trying to use Cassiodorus' name for his own purpose him and was trying to use Cassiodorus' name for his own purpose him and was trying to use Cassiodorus' name for his own purpose him and was trying to use Cassiodorus' name for his own purpose him and was trying to use Cassiodorus' name for his own purpose him and was trying to use Cassiodorus' name for his own purpose him and was trying to use Cassiodorus' name for his own purpose him and was trying to use Cassiodorus' name for his own purpose him and was trying to use Cassiodorus' name for his own purpose him and was trying to use Cassiodorus' name for his own purpose him and was trying to use Cassiodorus' name for his own purpose him and was trying to use Cassiodorus' name for his own purpose him and was trying to use Cassiodorus' name for his own purpose him and was trying to use case him and was trying to use the second name him and was trying to use the second name him and was trying to use the second name him and was trying to use the second name him and was trying to use the second name him and was trying to use the second name him and the second na him and was trying to the him and the him an These hypotheses roundly telling the truth in claiming. come up with a convenience of the confident that he is broadly telling the truth in claiming to have followed Cassiodorus' outline closely. The Getica corresponds well enough with the few things we know from elsewhere about Cassio dorus' history.3

But even if Jordanes' preface is not disguising some massive deception, this doesn't make the Getica a reliable source. Cassiodons wrote his history of the Goths for the court of the Ostrogothic king Theoderic the Amal, and this has a significant bearing on the narrative of Hunnic collapse that has come down to us in the Getica. Above all and as you might expect, it is a thoroughly Gotho-centric account Only the story of the Goths removing themselves from Hunnic overlordship is told in any detail in its pages, and even the Huns appear only incidentally. More specifically, Cassiodorus had to tell his Gothic history as his particular Gothic king wanted it told. As a result, it contains two historical distortions.

First, it claims that all the Goths who didn't flee from the Huns in AD 376 by crossing over into the Roman Empire immediately fell under Hunnic control. This is nonsense. We actually know of seven groups of Goths, other than the Greuthungi and Tervingi who sought asylum from the emperor Valens in 376 (and there is no reason to suppose that even this list is exhaustive):

1. The Amal-led Goths, who were under Hunnic control by the time of Attila and were presently ruled by Theoderic.

2. The Goths of Radagaisus who invaded Italy in 405/6 and

eventually became part of Alaric's new Visigothic group (see Chapter 5).
Chapter 5).
The Goths of Pannonia, detached by Roman military action
The Hunnic hegemony in the 420s, and resettled by +L. The Goths of Fairnown in the 420s, and resettled by the from the in Thrace; quite possibly the ancestors of from Hunnic mose; quite possibly the ancestors of group 6 Romans in Thrace; quite possibly the ancestors of group 6

below.
The Goths of a king called Bigelis, who unsuccessfully invaded
The Goths Roman Empire sometime between 466 and 471 The Gottis of Empire sometime between 466 and 471.

the east Roman Empire sometime between 466 and 471. the east Rolling in the train of Dengizich, son of Attila,
The Goths operating in the train of Dengizich, son of Attila,
The he invaded east Roman territory in the late 400

The Gould of Amount of Goths already settled in The Gould of Goths already settled in The Gould of Goths already settled in The Goth when he mives of Goths already settled in Thrace as Roman 6 A large group of 470.

allies in an analler, Gothic groups established in enclaves
7. Two other, smaller, Gethic Groups established in enclaves
7. Two other, smaller, Gothic groups established in enclaves allies in about 470. Two ounces in enclay around the Black Sea: the Tetraxitae of the Cimmerian

Bosporus and the Goths of Dory in the south-western Crimea.4

In concentrating solely upon group 1, therefore, the Getica's historical vision substantially simplifies Gothic history.

Second – and closely related to the first point – the Getica overstates the historical importance of the Amal dynasty from which Theoderic, Cassiodorus' employer, was descended. By dividing the Goths into those who were conquered by the Huns in 376 and those who fled, the Getica can maintain that the Amal family had long ruled every Goth who did not enter Roman territory during the reign of Valens. The Amals were later responsible for the creation of the Ostrogoths, as mentioned earlier, but this happened between about 460 and 490. Nothing suggests that the Amal dynasty had been anything like as prominent before it acquired this new power-base. Parvenu dynasts often pretend that they are not parvenus at all, and Theoderic was a case in point. Cassiodorus' letters consistently refer to Theoderic's family as a 'purple dynasty'; this perspective permeated Cassiodorus' history - hence its presence in the Getica. Furthermore, there is no reason to suppose that our list of seven groups is exhaustive: there were many Gothic 'royal' families competing at the heads of their individual warbands. In reality the fall of the Hunnic Empire was nther more messy than Jordanes makes out.

As the Getica tells it, the origins of Hunnic collapse lay in a dispute over succession between Attila's sons soon after their father's sudden At least three of the sons figure in different sources as important

leaders in their own right – Dengizich, Ellac and Hernac but idea of how many there were in total, or of whether their fact. leaders in their own right - Dengue, and Hernac and Hernac have no idea of how many there were in total, or of whether some, were potential candidates for their father's possible to civil war, which result possible to the contract of the have no idea of how many uncertainty or of whole or only some, were potential candidates for their father's which resulted in the Gepids under their kino A the least or only some, were potential calculated in or only some, which results are the calculated in or only some, which results are the calculated in or only some, which results are the calculated in or only some, which results are the calculated in or only some, which results are the calculated in or only some. The quarrel soon degenerated into civil war, which results are the calculated in or only some and the calculated in or only some are the c The quarrel soon degenerated in the quarrel soon degenerated in the Gepids under their king Ardend in the Hunnic domination. This presumably meant that the Company of the Germanic subject group, the Germanic subject group group group, the Germanic subject group gro ing off Hunnic domination. The refused to pay any more tributes or to answer demands for hills on an unidentified river that the Getter tells. refused to pay any more understands for new service. The rebellion was not taken lying down, the Gerica tells of the curcome was a battle on an unidentified river in panels understands. service. The rebellion was a battle on an unidentified river in pannone

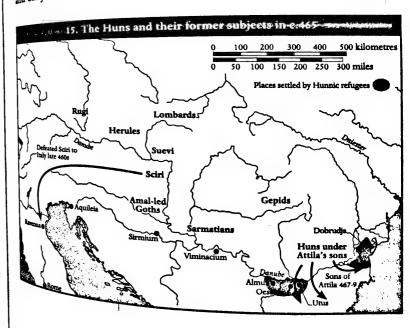
There an encounter took place between the various nations And There an encounter took problem with their peoples were made many members were had held under the divided, and out of one body were made many members were members not seemed of the common impulse. Being deprived of the common impulse. responding to a common impulse. Being deprived of their head they madly strove against each other ... And so the bravest nations tore themselves to pieces . . . One might see the Goths fighting with pikes, the Gepids raging with the sword, the Rugi breaking off the spears in their own wounds, the Sueves [Suevi] fighting on foot, the Huns with bows, the Alans drawing up a battle-line of heavy-armed and the Herules of light-armed warnors. Finally, after many bitter conflicts, victory fell unexpectedly to the Gepids.

This is good breastplate-ripping stuff, but not very informative event the outline story is plausible enough. Clearly, dynastic strife was the norm within the royal family of the Huns, once power became mor centralized in the fifth century. We saw in Chapter 7 that royal refugees from previous succession struggles had ended up inside the Roman Empire in the 440s, for instance, and some were returned in execution. Jordanes is also unlikely to have given the Gepids a starting role unless it was impossible not to, especially since there was no lost lost between Goths and Gepids by the sixth century.7

What's not at all clear, though, is who was on whose side in the battle, and whether there was just one big battle or a series of smaller ones. Land ones. Jordanes is also a bit vague on the outcome of all this violent. tribe, but all the others who were equally oppressed But how precisely this liberary precisely this liberation happened is open to question. When, in the battle (or harries) Acres to the precise open to the proof of the battle (or harries) Acres to the proof of the proof battle (or battles), Attila's son Ellac was killed, Jordanes reports, by

THE FALL OF THE HUNNIC EMPIRE obers for lands east to all the Huns' subjects no ober for lands out freedom to all the Huns' subjects, no matter whose made out freedom by about the year 460 the obers for lands east of the Huns' subjects, no matter whose side for freedom to all the Huns' subjects, no matter whose side made four freedom to all the year 460, the position of the hand fought on. By about the year 460, the position of the hand fought on. By about the Middle Danubian Distriction of the hand fought on. By about the Middle Danubian Distriction of the hand fought on. place to the position of the major subjects, in and around the Middle Danubian Plain, in so far as more or less as follows: had fought on. By about the year 400, the position of the major had fought on and around the Middle Danubian Plain, in so far as we can they had fought around the Middle Danubian Plain, in so far as we can have in and around the more or less as follows (map 15). The Amai's roughful tit, an arc of territory south of the major around the major of the major be, had around the lynder Daniel Plain, in so far as we can powers in was more or less as follows (map 15). The Amal-led properties it, was more of territory south of the River Daniel properties occupied an arc of territory south of the River Daniel properties occupied an arc of territory south of the River Daniel properties occupied an arc of territory south of the River Daniel Plain, in so far as we can properties in the properties of the River Daniel Plain, in so far as we can properties in the properties of the River Daniel Plain, in so far as we can properties in the properties of the River Daniel Plain, in so far as we can prove the properties of the River Daniel Plain, in so far as we can prove the properties of the River Daniel Plain, in so far as we can prove the properties of the River Daniel Plain, in so far as we can prove the properties of the River Daniel Plain, in so far as we can prove the properties of the River Daniel Plain, in so far as we can prove the properties of the River Daniel Plain and the Plain a powers it, was more of territory south of the River Danube in construct it, was more of territory south of the River Danube in construct pannonia, stretching from Lake Balaton toward. reconstruction of the River Danube in stretching from Lake Balaton towards the former similar. The Gepids controlled the north-eastern of similar similar. Roman Palatonia, Lake Balaton towards the former Sirmium. The Gepids controlled the north-eastern stretch, of of Sirmium. The old Roman province of Dacia abandonal individual much of the old Roman province of Dacia abandonal. of Simium. The old Roman province of Dacia abandoned in the industry Between the two were the Suevi north of the Dacia abandoned in the industry. ory much of the two were the Suevi north of the Danube bird century. Between the two ward and Sarmatians/Alans According to the Sciri, Herules, Rugi and Sarma third century. Because, Rugi and Sarmatians/Alans. According to bend, plus the Sciri, Herules, thanks to the revolt of the Carried reading of Jordanes, thanks to the revolt of the Carried reading of Jordanes, thanks to the revolt of the Carried reading of Jordanes, thanks to the revolt of the Carried reading of Jordanes, thanks to the revolt of the Carried reading of Jordanes, thanks to the revolt of the Carried reading of Jordanes, thanks to the revolt of the Carried reading to the carried reading t bend, plus the Schil, reading of Jordanes, thanks to the revolt of the Gepids all of literal reading converted from Hunnic subjects into its literal regions rapidly converted from Hunnic subjects into its literal regions rapidly converted from Hunnic subjects into its literal regions rapidly converted from Hunnic subjects into its literal regions rapidly converted from Hunnic subjects into its literal regions and literal regions are subjects in the revolution of the Gepids all of literal regions are subjects. literal reading of John Hunnic subjects into independent these groups rapidly converted from Hunnic subjects into independent these groups rapidly converted from Hunnic subjects into independent these groups rapidly. There are enough hints in fragments preserved elsewhere, tingdoms. A in odd details of Iordanes' account bingdoms. There are details of Jordanes' account, to make it clear that, bowever, and in odd details of jordanes' account, to make it clear that, nowcon, this is much too simple a picture.

The idea that the Huns suddenly disappeared from the Carpathian The luca time data for instance, is deeply misleading. In the later 450s regon in and array 460s, they twice intervened west of the Carpathians against



the Amal-led Goths in Pannonia, as Jordanes himself tells to later 460s Attila's remaining sons were still able to launch and across the Danube. If, as Jordanes and all the later to launch and later to laun the Amal-led Goths in Pannoma, as Journal of minself tells us, the later 460s Attila's remaining sons were still able to launch and the Roman Empire across the Danube. If, as Jordanes report and the battle of the Addle Danube after the battle of the Addle Danube. the Amal-leu the later 460s Attila's remaining some the l into the Roman Empire across the state of the Nedao may have freed the Gepids, it class. Huns did leave the Middle Daniel of the Neda of the Gepids, the compare for the last time in Across Denotes didn't free everyone. When the didn't free everyone when the last time in 467/8, there were attacked the east Roman Empire for the last time in 467/8, there were attacked the east Roman Empire for the last time in 467/8, there were attacked the east Roman Empire for the last time in 467/8, there were attacked the east Roman Empire for the last time in 467/8, there were attacked the east Roman Empire for the last time in 467/8, there were attacked the east Roman Empire for the last time in 467/8, there were attacked the east Roman Empire for the last time in 467/8, there were attacked the east Roman Empire for the last time in 467/8, there were attacked the east Roman Empire for the last time in 467/8, there were attacked the east Roman Empire for the last time in 467/8, there were attacked the east Roman Empire for the last time in 467/8, there were attacked the east Roman Empire for the last time in 467/8, there were attacked the east Roman Empire for the last time in 467/8, there were attacked the east Roman Empire for the last time in 467/8, there were the extra time in 467/8, there were th attacked the east Roman Burphe attacked the east Roman Burphe still substantial numbers of Goths in his following, Priscus there were also tells us that Dengizich had mobilized several Roman Several still substantial numbers of Godding, Priscus reports Jordanes also tells us that Dengizich had mobilized several group.

Jordanes Angisciri, Bittugures and Bardores – for his second Jordanes also tells us that Delig...

Jordanes also tells us that Delig...

Ultzinzures, Angisciri, Bittugures and Bardores – for his second group.

Amal-led Goths. 11 This doesn't mean that Nedao Was Was Ultzinzures, Angiscin, Dittuguited on the Amal-led Goths. 11 This doesn't mean that Nedao was not a surning-point, but it does demonstrate that Hunnic was not a on the Amal-led Gouis.

significant turning-point, but it does demonstrate that Hunnic power population groups of the Carpathian region power significant turning-point, out a significant turning-point significant signifi

denly extinguished.

The path to freedom of the Amal-led Goths, and most of the Hung.

What Iordanes implies, either has The path to necessary subjects, was not quite what Jordanes implies, either. No sudden subjects, was not quite what Jordanes implies, either No sudden sudden subjects. subjects, was not quite moment of liberation freed everyone at the same time. As we have seen, there were at least three separate groups of Goths under Hunnic dominion at Attila's death, and there had earlier been a fourth (group 3/6, p. 353), detached from Hunnic control by east Roman action and resettled in Thrace in the 420s. Group 1 had escaped by the later 450s. group 4 by the mid-460s, while group 5 never escaped at all, particularly pating in the Huns' final attack on the Empire in 467/8. We have no equivalent information for the Huns' other subject peoples, but behind each individual group name - Suevi, Rugi, Herules, Gepids, Alans and so on - there may likewise have been several independent political units who threw off Hunnic dominion at various points between 453 and 468.

Nor should we assume that each of the separate units that emerged from the wreck of the Hunnic Empire already had its own smoothly functioning leadership at the time of Attila's death. The Getica report that this was true of the Amal-led Goths, claiming that Valamer the Amal, Theoderic's uncle, had been a trusted right-hand man of Amil and that the Amal dynasty's pre-eminence over Group 1 was beyond challenge. There are good reasons for doubting both claims. Jordans himself himself reports that for forty years under Hunnic hegemony, before the appearance of the second seco the appearance of Valamer, this supposedly unchallengeable dynasy hadn't actually and the supposed to the supp hadn't actually ruled any Goths at all. He also tells some interesting stories about a stories a stories about a stories a stories about a stories a stories a stories about a supposedly Hunnic ruler by the name of Balamber

THE FALL OF THE HUNNIC EMPIRE defeated several Gothic rulers, in particular Vinitharius and defeated Many chronological inconsistencies fizzle out once defeated several Gount rulers, in particular Vinitharius and inconsistencies fizzle out once it is many chronological inconsistencies fizzle out once it is many defeated Many accounts of Balamber's exploits probably decent derea. Many chronological inconsistencies fizzle out once it is the accounts of Balamber's exploits probably describe that the accounts had had over the Amal-Goths Daily and the first consolidated his hold over the Amal-Goths Daily valamer in any other sources. in the accounts of balancer's exploits probably describe probably describe his hold over the Amal-Goths. Balamin appear in any other sources; and in Greek. Value of appear in any other sources. over the Amal-Goths. Balamrow valamer in any other sources; and in Greek, Valamer is
row valamer in appear in appear in the stories tell of him defeating two rival Corrections of the stories tell of him defeating two rival Corrections of the stories tell of him defeating two rival Corrections of the stories tell of him defeating two rival Corrections of the stories tell of him defeating two rival Corrections of the stories tell of him defeating two rival Corrections of the stories tell of him defeating two rival Corrections of the stories tell of him defeating two rival Corrections of the stories tell of him defeating two rival Corrections of the stories tell of him defeating two rival Corrections of the stories tell of him defeating two rival Corrections of the stories tell of him defeating two rival Corrections of the stories tell of him defeating two rival Corrections of the stories tell of him defeating two rival Corrections of the stories tell of him defeating the stories of the stories of the stories tell of him defeating the stories of the stories o value, palaming defeating two rival Gothic by doesn't appear in any outces, and in Greek, Valamer is the stories tell of him defeating two rival Gothic by doesn't halamer. The stories of Vinitharius and Hunimund, toosether with lines in the persons of Vinitharius and Hunimund, toosether with lines in the persons of Vinitharius and Hunimund, toosether with the person of Vinitharius and Hunimund, toosether with the person of Vinitharius and Hunimund, toosether with the person of Vinitharius and Vini be does Balamer. The stories ten of min defeating two rival Gothic with the persons of Vinitharius and Hunimund, together with the persons of Thorismund. Gesimund, the brother of Thorismund. Thorismund. office in the persons of vinitualities and Hunimund, together with the brother of Thorismund, the brother of Thorismund, the latter's son Thorismund, the activated Valamer's overlordship rather than continuing the latter valamer's and Paramirod Glad with the brother of Thorismund, the brother of Thorismund, the brother of Thorismund, the latter's overlordship rather than continuing the contest, and thorismund's son Beremund fled west into the Roman Time Thorismund fled w weeped Valamer's son Beremund fled west into the Roman Empire.

seeped thorismund's son Beremund fled west into the Roman Empire.

seeped of an Amal dynasty with a unique, long-established. Thorismund s son dynasty with a unique, long-established prestige instead of an Amal dynasty when, we need to envise the death, then, we need to envise the death of the death, then, we need to envise the death, then the death of the death o Instead of an Attila's death, then, we need to envisage several the time of Attila's warlords, each with their own warlords. the time of Gothic warlords, each with their own warbands. It valamer, it seems, who first united them, in some income in the seems who first united them. ompeting petty out who first united them, in some instances by valamer, it seems, who first united them, in some instances by military action (as in the killing of Hunimund): in order Valamer, it seems, in the killing of Hunimund); in others, as with met military action (as in the killing of Hunimund); in others, as with west military action, by conciliation; and in yet others, by a mixture (csimind's surrender, by conciliation; then manifely to the surrender of the surrender o General S surrends, John State of the two - Valamer killed Vinitharius, then married his granddaughof the two - values is that all this political restructuring happened after the Aprile. The process generated a month of Aprile. the death of Attila. The process generated a much larger Gothic force, be deall of facility and it is hard to think that

Artila in his pomp would have tolerated it. 13 Oute clearly, then, not all of the Huns' subjects came in neat mits, with established leaderships ready and waiting to recapture their independence as soon as the great man died. The Gepids perhaps did, and this might explain why they were able to regain their independence so quickly. But other groups that we see asserting their autonony after Attila's death had been generated only recently: on the hoof, nit were, around the leadership of new men. The emergence of the lingdom of the Sciri, for instance, was far from straightforward. In the 60s, they were ruled by the same Edeco whom we met in the last dapter as one of Attila's trusted inner circle, the man the east Romans bad tried to bribe into assassinating the then Hunnic leader. Edeco was supported by two sons, Odovacar and Onoulph. As the Hunnic Empire collapsed, Edeco clearly managed to reinvent himself, turning from Mobably Wasn't a Sciri by birth. His sons are described as having a Schian mother, but he himself is labelled as either a Hun or a Thuringian. The latter – being more specific – is perhaps more likely be correct. What qualified Edeco for leadership of the Sciri was not

o the light of history.

Putting all these fragments together suggests a rather of the collapse of the Hunnic Empire from that given Putting all these tragments to be part of at the pa Jordanes. If the reassertion of independence on the part of at least subject peoples had to be preceded by major bolic. Jordanes. If the reassertion some of the subject peoples had to be preceded by major of at least this tells us that the Hunnic Empire eased to be preceded by major political tells. extinction as the Huns gradually lost control of those peoples.

The emergence of the new independent groups then set in motion the process of Hunnic extinction. The Line the final stage in the process of Hunnic extinction. The Hung by gathered most of them together on the Great Hungarian plain the unprecedented concentration of armed groups creating there a hugh powerful war machine. 15 In the Roman period, the area had been supposed in the Roman period, the area had been supposed in the Roman period, the area had been supposed in the Roman period, the area had been supposed in the Roman period, the area had been supposed in the Roman period, the area had been supposed in the Roman period, the area had been supposed in the Roman period, the area had been supposed in the Roman period, the area had been supposed in the Roman period. divided between just Sarmatians, Suevi and Vandals - Roman poling in the immal. took great care to prevent overcrowding in the immediate from area, for fear that it would lead to violence. The removal of Humic domination created just the situation that these old Roman policin were designed to prevent: a concentration of competitive annel groups in a relatively small area. So battles for independence naturally evolved into a fight for regional hegemony in the 460s, as the new kingdoms took each other on in a struggle for mastery on the Danube

Again, the only coherent narrative is to be found in the Grina, which of course presents it as a triumph for the Amal-led Goths." As Jordanes tells it, these quickly came to blows with the Suevi, ord whom they won a great victory. The Suevi then stirred up the other regional powers against the Goths, particularly the Sciri, who managed to kill Valamer in a first bout of fighting. The Goths, however, tooki ferocious revenge, destroying the Sciri as an independent power. The led most of the rest - the Suevi, the remaining Sciri, Rugi, Gentle Suevi, Sarmatians 'and others' - to unite against the Goths. The result was second great battle, on a second unidentified river in Pannonia, Bolia, where, as Jordanes tells us:

The party of the Goths was found to be so much the stronger that the plant the stronger that the stronger that the stronger that the stronger than the stronger th that the plain was drenched in the blood of their fallen foes and

worked like a crimson sea. Weapons and corpses, piled up like a crimson for more than ten miles. When the Coul where dike a crimsun seen. The suppose and corpses, piled up like where the plain for more than ten miles. When the Goths with joy unspeakable, because by this they rejoiced with joy unspeakable, because by this they had a promote the suppose the suppose they had a promote the suppose they had a promote the s hoked the plans with joy unspeakable, because by this great they rejoiced they had avenged the blood of Valaman the south of their foes they had avenged the blood of Valaman the south of their foes they had avenged the blood of Valaman the south of their foes they had avenged the blood of Valaman the south of their foes they had avenged the blood of Valaman the south of their foes they had avenged the blood of Valaman the south of their foes they had avenged the blood of Valaman the south of their foes they had avenged the blood of Valaman the south of their foes they had avenged the blood of Valaman the south of their foes they had avenged the blood of Valaman the south of the south o hills they rejoices they had avenged the blood of Valamer their foes they had avenged the blood of Valamer shull her of their foes they had avenged the blood of Valamer shull her of their foes they had avenged the blood of Valamer shull her of their foes they had avenged the blood of Valamer shull her of their foes they had avenged the blood of Valamer shull her of their foes they had avenged the blood of Valamer shull her of their foes they had avenged the blood of Valamer shull her of their foes they had avenged the blood of Valamer shull her of their foes they had avenged the blood of Valamer shull her of their foes they had avenged the blood of Valamer shull her of their foes they had avenged the blood of Valamer shull her of their foes they had avenged the blood of Valamer shull her of their foes they had avenged the blood of Valamer shull her of their foes they had avenged the blood of Valamer shull her of their foes they had avenged the blood of Valamer shull her of their foes they had avenged the blood of Valamer shull her of their foes they had avenged the blood of Valamer shull her of their foes they had avenged the blood of Valamer shull her of their foes they had avenged the blood of Valamer shull her of their foes the blood of Valamer shull her of their foes the blood of Valamer shull her of the bl

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other sources provide just about enough information to confirm ober sources province of Priscus' history records that, before priscus' version. A fragment of Priscus' history records that, before priscus' version, the Sciri and Amal-led Goths both sent embassion down, the Sciri and Amal-led Goths both sent embassion and the sciril and th one, version, in magning and Amal-led Goths both sent embassies to promines showdown, the Sciri and Amal-led Goths both sent embassies to the showdown, the procure east Roman assistance. The demantinople to try to procure as Roman assistance. both sent embassies to both sent embassies to try to procure east Roman assistance. The destruction of the Sciri also figures in other sources. But whether Constantinople to any sources in other sources. But whether and to what to of the Sciri also figures in other always victorious. We describe the Amal-led Goths were always victorious. of the Sciri and to what were always victorious, we don't really of the Amal-led Goths were always victorious, we don't really

The violence and instability only began to ease off a little in the The violeties of the competing groups were eliminated. The Scirian region as some of the competing in the late 460° and in the late 460 region as some in the late 460s, and in 473 the Amalingdom lost its independence in the late 460s, and in 473 the Amalingdom lost its independence to try their luck in the control of the area to try their luck in the control of the area to try their luck in the control of the area to try their luck in the control of the area to try their luck in the control of the area to try their luck in the control of the area to try their luck in the control of the area to try their luck in the control of the area to try their luck in the control of the control of the area to try their luck in the control of the area to try their luck in the control of the bigdom lost the area to try their luck in the east Roman Empire. led Gollis and soon enough, however, to save the sons of Attila. None of the 450s and 460s unfolded, their position was fatally as the events of the 450s and 460s unfolded, their position was fatally Multiple was rated with the second of independence meant that another with the second abject people had stopped paying their annual tributes. This was bad mugh, but then the new kingdoms started to take the initiative, looking to maximize their positions at the expense both of each other and of the Huns. The transformation from victors to victims is well illustrated in the two wars that the sons of Attila fought, according to lordanes, against the Amal-led Goths. In the first they attacked them \* fugitive slaves', with the aim of reasserting their own hegemony and tribute rights. In the second, they were seeking to prevent some of the smaller groups settled in Pannonia from falling under Gothic dominion.19 All the other major groups we hear about were doing the same, so that the Huns' power-base was steadily eroded.

By the mid-460s the two surviving sons, Dengizich and Hernac, were desperate. The loss of subject peoples, combined with the treasing empowerment of groups like the Amal-led Goths, left their position north of the Danube untenable. The only option open to was to seek an accommodation with the Roman Empire. But Dengizich got it wrong – perhaps he demanded too much. In 469 he vs defeated by the Roman general Anagastes, and his head publicly at Constantinople. Hernac and his followers, perhaps less

greedy, were eventually resettled beside the Danube in North Romania), and some other Hunnic remnants in North Romania, and Alman Romania, which is the Company of the Comp greedy, were eventually resettied beside the Danube in Dobrudja (modern Romania), and some other Hunnic remnantor in a round the fortresses of Oescus, Utus and Almus, Independent of the Danube had ended. The demindent of the Danube had ended to the Danube h Dobrudja (modern Romania), and around the fortresses of Oescus, Utus and Almus, Independent of the Danube had ended. The demise per Dobrudja (modina de la companya de l

### Riding the Tiger

DESPITE ITS MANY limitations, then, the Getica's account allows us some of the key stages in the process of Hunnic coll to DESPITE ITS MANY limitations, reconstruct some of the key stages in the process of Hunnic college than the process of the process o Over the years, many explanations have been offered for this college to around to around the property of this contract the property of the pro Over the years, many expressions of earlier eras tended to argue the extraordinary personal capacities of Area ordinary phenomenon. Flatching to argue it was testament to the earlies of Attilate the Bernier could only exist with him at the helm. Edward Thompson by the Huns' demise in the divisive social effects by Empire could only take white in the divisive social effects of all the Roman Empire. 20 Than 1 of all the could be social effects of all the countries and the Roman Empire. 20 Than 1 of all the countries are the countries and the countries are th the wealth they acquired from the Roman Empire. 20 There is some thing in both of these theories. Attila the Hun, as we have seen, wa an extraordinary operator, and no doubt the gold extracted from Rome was not distributed entirely evenly among his people. But a full understanding of the Hunnic Empire must turn on its relations with its largely Germanic subjects. As already suggested, it was the ability to suck in so many of these militarized groups that underlay the sudden explosion of Hunnic power in the 420s-40s. After Antilia death, likewise, it was his successors' increasing inability to maintain control over those same groups that spelled their own decline.

The key starting-point is that the Hunnic Empire was not generally enrolled voluntarily. All the evidence we have suggests that non-Hunnic groups became caught up in it through a combination of conquest and intimidation. In the time of Attila, the Akatziri were the latest to fall into the Empire's orbit. We took in the first half of the story in Chapter 7, when the east Roman ambassador gave the best gifts to the wrong king. Priscus tells us what happened next:

Kouridachus, the senior [king of the Akatziri] in office ... called in Attila against his fellow kings. Attila without delay sent a large force, destroyed some, and forced the rest to submit. He then not be. summoned Kouridachus to share in the prizes of victory. But he suspecting a plot, declared that it was hard for a man to come

THE FALL OF THE HUNNIC EMPIRE the sight of a god ... In this way Kouridachus remained the sight of folk and saved his realm, while all the manner his own folk and saved to Arrila 21 the sight of a gown folk and saved his realm, while all the rest of the his own folk and saved to Attila.21 smongst nis people submitted to Attila,21 she Akatzirian people submitted to Attila,21

the sent his eldest son to rule over the conquered. The passage was capable of deft political management that while demanded the basis htile then sent his elucat was capable of deft political manoeuvring while Attila was capable of deft political manoeuvring demanded, the basic tool of Hunnic important the occasion demanded. It was the occasion demanded passage while while demanded, the basic tool of Hunnic imperial of the occasion demanded. It was, of course, to avoid the military conquest. It was, of course, to avoid the military conquest. representation that the Tervingi and Greuthungi had come to the Department of the Tervingi and Greuthungi had come to the Department of the Tervingi and Greuthungi had come to the Department of the Greet of the Gr opension was mutaty visign and Greuthungi had come to the Danube opension that the Tervingi and Greuthungi had come to the Danube opension that the Tervingi and Greuthungi had come to the Danube opension that the Tervingi and Greuthungi had come to the Danube opension that the Tervingi and Greuthungi had come to the Danube opension that the Tervingi and Greuthungi had come to the Danube opension that the Tervingi and Greuthungi had come to the Danube opension that the Tervingi and Greuthungi had come to the Danube opension that the Tervingi and Greuthungi had come to the Danube opension that the Tervingi and Greuthungi had come to the Danube opension that the Tervingi and Greuthungi had come to the Danube opension that the Tervingi and Greuthungi had come to the Danube opension that the Tervingi and Greuthungi had come to the Danube opension that the Tervingi and Greuthungi had come to the Danube opension that the Tervingi and Greuthungi had come to the Danube opension that the Tervingi and Greuthungi had come to the Danube opension that the Tervingi and Greuthungi had come to the Danube opension that the Tervingi and Greuthungi had come to the Danube opension that the Tervingi and Greuthungi had come to the Danube opension that the Tervingi and Greuthungi had come to the Danube opension that the Tervingi and Greuthungi had come to the Danube opension that the Tervingi and Greuthungi had come to the Danube opension that the Tervingi and Greuthungi had come to the Danube opension that the Tervingi had come to the Danube opension that the Tervingi had come to the Danube opension that the Tervingi had come to the Danube opension that the Tervingi had come to the Danube opension that the Tervingi had come to the Danube opension the Danube opension that the Tervingi had come to the Danube opension th opinination that use of 376 in the first place. And it was after a savage on the summer of 376 the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the hands of the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the hands of the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the hands of the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the hands of the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the hands of the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the hands of the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the hands of the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the hands of the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the hands of the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the hands of the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the hands of the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the hands of the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the hands of the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the hands of the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the hands of the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the hands of the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the hands of the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the hands of the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the hands of the Huns in the 430s that the hands of the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the hands of the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the hands of the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the 430s that the Russian at the Huns in the 430s that the Russian at the 430s that the Author Autho the summer of the Huns in the 430s that the Burgundians anded up in the Roman Empire. All this is consistent for the manuscript. All this is consistent with the model up in the Roman Empire. All this is consistent with the solution there was, as we have seen, one way, and one or ended up in the was, as we have seen, one way, and one way only, for that there was, as Empire: warfare. 22

bot una. Attila's Empire: warfare.22 We don't have all the information we might like on relations We don't have conquerors and their various subjects. Pride of between the Hunnic conquerors as story told by Decay and the prior of the beginning to be given to a story told by Decay and the prior of between the rended to be given to a story told by Priscus, often seen as place has remuce and social mobility that was possible in the Humic Empire. While hanging around Attila's camp, Priscus ran into Hunnic Bully and Hun who greeted him in Greek. Upon inquiry, the Hun turned out to be an ex-Roman prisoner, a former merchant copured at the fall of Viminacium in 441. In the share-out that followed he had been assigned to Onegesius and had fought in subsequent campaigns, against both the Romans and the Akatziri. He did well, won lots of booty, which he passed on to Onegesius, and was onsequently freed. He'd then taken a Hunnic wife and was now a musted companion of his former master, accustomed to dining with him. Thus a slave who did well in battle could win his freedom and be accepted in fairly exalted Hunnic circles. Not so commonly quoted another story exposing the other side of master-slave relations under the Huns. Also during his stay at Attila's court, Priscus saw the substing of two slaves who had taken the opportunity offered by the nurmoil of battle to kill their master. And in fact, most of the Huns' subjects were exploited in a variety of ways and kept firmly in

A revealing fragment of Priscus' history records an incident in 467/8 during Dengizich's last attack on the east Roman Empire, when a build force of Goths and Huns was picked apart by Romans; they teminded the Gothic contingent of exactly how the Huns generally behaved towards them: "These men have no concern for a wolves, attack and steal the Goths' food supplies with behaved towards them: "These men to concern for supplies," that the latter remain in the position of slaves and themselves and themselves and themselves."

124 Taking the subject peoples' and themselves. but, like wolves, attack and stear the position of slaves and then the position of slaves and then the subject peoples. Supplies when the subject peoples are the subject peoples and then the subject peoples are the supplies when the subject people it is supplied to the subject people it is subject people it is supplied to the subject people it is sub but, like wo...
result that the latter remain in the position of staves and the suffer food shortages.'24 Taking the subject peoples' and them to only part of the story. They were also used, as we have below the story of the story. They were also used, as we have the story of the story. suffer food shortages. They were also used, as we have to the Huns' wars. Few civilian prisoners are likely to have course, only part of the story. They course, as we have to fight the Huns' wars. Few civilian prisoners are likely to have be and at fighting, and casualty numbers during Hunnic cannot be to fight the Huns' wars. Few civilian Products are likely to have been good at fighting, and casualty numbers during Hunnic Campaign and casualty numbers during Hunnic Campaign and unusual story. very good at fighting, and casually merchant-turned runnic campaign were probably enormous. Priscus' merchant-turned-Hun centing runnic campaign centing the centing runnic centing runnic

spered, but his was no uous.

Clearly, then, the Hunnic Empire was an inherently unstable poly.

with tensions between rulers and ruled, Tension Clearly, then, the riuman between rulers and ruled. Tensions of a lead existed between the subject peoples themselvas different kind also existed between the subject peoples themselves, who mutual aggression even before the Huns are had a long history of mutual aggression even before the Huns appeared to receive little coverage from him. had a long history of Huttua age.

This particular instability tends to receive little coverage from historian a Roman Drive Course our source material comes from a Roman Drive Course our source material comes from a Roman Drive Course our source material comes from a Roman Drive Course our source material comes from a Roman Drive Course our source material comes from a Roman Drive Course our source material comes from a Roman Drive Course our source material comes from a Roman Drive Course our source material comes from a Roman Drive Course our source material comes from the Roman Drive Course our source material comes from a Roman Drive Course our source material comes from the Roman D This particular instability because most of our source material comes from a Roman, Priscus, and Arrila's power was unchallengeable Os, and dates to the time when Attila's power was unchallengeable. Cast the net wider, though, and the evidence rapidly gathers itself. The greates strength of the Hunnic Empire – the ability to increase its power by quickly consuming subject peoples – was also its greatest weakness. The Romans, for instance, were happy to exploit, whenever they could the fact that these subject peoples were not there of their own free will in the 420s, the east Roman counteraction against the rising Hunnic power in Pannonia was to remove from their control a large number of Goth whom they then settled in Thrace.25 And an early fragment of Priscus tells us:26 'When Rua was king of the Huns, the Amilzuri, Itiman, Toursoures, Boisci and other tribes who were living near to the Danube were fleeing to fight on the side of the Romans.' This dates to the late 430s, after Rua had achieved considerable success, indicating that even success wasn't enough to guarantee the quiescence of subject group. The start of a new reign was a moment of particular stress. The first campaign of Rua's successors, Attila and Bleda, when they came to power in 440, was not against the Romans: 'When [at the start of their reign] they had made peace with the Romans, Attila, Bleda and their forces marched through Scythia subduing the tribes there and also make war on the Sorogsi.' Reasserting your overlordship over subject group once you had established your supremacy, was probably the first priority for any new ruler of the Hunnic Empire.

The conflicts that arose after Attila's death were not exceptional then, but inherent in the relationship between the Huns and their

THE FALL OF THE HUNNIC EMPIRE when they could, Hunnic leaders tried to ensure that the when up trouble for them in this quarter. In the when they could rouble for them in this quarter. In their first wouldn't stir up trouble for them in this quarter. In their first wouldn't stir ap trouble for them in this quarter. In their first wouldn't stir up trouble for them in this quarter. In their first wouldn't stir up trouble for them in this quarter. In their first the latter wanted peace on the stir with the east able to pursue their ambients. the latter wanted peace on the to pursue their ambitions in North Africa, able to ensure that the Romans should make the pursue the pursue that the Romans should make the pursue that the Romans should make the pursue that the Romans should make the pursue the pursue that the Romans should make the pursue that the Romans should make the pursue that the Romans should make the pursue the pursue that the Romans should make the pursue that the Roma on the so be able to ensure that the Romans should make no public with a barbarian people against the Huns when the larrange with a barbarian them. Unlike the solution of the solution in North Africa, and the solution of the solution in North Africa, with a barbarian people against the Huns when the larrange with a property of the solution of the s public Bleda were apple against the Huns when the latter were apple with a barbarian people against the Roman Empire with a barbarian them. Unlike the Roman Empire the forward against them. with a barbarian people against use riuns when the latter were with a barbarian them. Unlike the Roman Empire, which dissipating the tensions of conquest turning the landowness the landowness the landowness the landowness to the landowness the la popularity confuries and the landowners among them – into full Romans, spell confuries at least, the landowners among them – into full Romans, spell confuring lacked the necessary stability and the bureaucrasic politicis - or, at least, the necessary stability and the bureaucratic capacity by Huns lacked the necessary Instead of revolutionizing the receipt their subjects directly. 27 Instead of revolutionizing the receipt their subjects directly. 27 Instead of revolutionizing the receipt their subjects directly. 28 Instead of revolutionizing the receipt their subjects directly. 29 Instead of revolutionizing the receipt their subjects directly. 29 Instead of revolutionizing the receipt their subjects directly. 29 Instead of revolutionizing the receipt their subjects directly. 29 Instead of revolutionizing the receipt their subjects directly. 20 Instead of revolutionizing the receipt their subjects directly. huns lacked the directly.<sup>27</sup> Instead of revolutionizing the sociopoli-be the subjects directly.<sup>27</sup> Instead of revolutionizing the sociopoli-or multiple of the conquered peoples or imposing their their subjects are conquered peoples or imposing their own, they find structures of the conquered peoples to continue the daily on an indigenous leadership to continue the daily on the da indigenous leadership to continue the daily manage-bid to rely on an indigenous. As a result, the Huns could be the subject groups. As a result, the Huns could be the subject groups. be to rely on an image groups. As a result, the Huns could exert only a most of the subject groups and interference, and arrange degree of dominion and interference, and ment of the subject of dominion and interference, and even that varied moderate degree of dominion another. The Genide moderate degree to another. The Gepids, as we have seen, had from one subject people to another of Arrila's dead for one subject poor at the time of Attila's death, and so were bir own overall leader at their independence. Out ther own over assert their independence. Other groups, like the mickly able to assert had to produce a leader of the mal-led Goths, first had to produce a leader of their own before they Amaricu Amaricu Hunnic hegemony. Some, like the Goths in thrall to Dengizich when he invaded east Roman territory in the 460s, never managed to do so. But even these, still dominated by Dengizich in 468, had their own subchieftains.

If the sources were more numerous and more informative. I simeet that the narrative would show the Hunnic Empire peeling man like an onion after 453, with different subject layers asserting independence at different times, in inverse relation to the degree of domination the Huns had previously exercised over their lives. The two key variables were, first, the extent to which the subjects' political tracture had been left intact; and second - I strongly suspect but cannot prove - their distance from the heartland of the Empire where Amila had his camps. Some groups, settled close to the Huns' own tentories, were kept on a very tight rein, with any propensity to mified leadership suppressed. Groups living further away preserved note of their own political structures and were less readily controlled. the time of Attila, the Franks and the Akatziri defined the geographid limits of his marginal influence, while groups in between such as the Thuringians, Goths, Gepids, Suevi, Sciri, Herules, Sarmatians and Alas faced differing degrees of closer control.28

Archaeological evidence from Attila's Empire offers us on relations between its subjects and rulers. As we have Archaeological evidence mon.

Archaeological evidence mon.

perspective on relations between its subjects and rulers. As we have the form of Germanic or seriking feature of the excavated. perspective on relations between the form of Germanic or seembly chapter 7, this mainly takes the form of Germanic or seembly complete the excavated material is a number of unfurnished burials. Chapter 7, this mainly takes

Chapter 8, this mainly takes

Chapter 7, this mainly takes

Chapter 7, this mainly takes

Chapter 8, this mainly takes

Chapter 9, this mainly takes

Chapte Germanic cemeteries; a surrous of unfurnished burials and a transfer of rich ones. These rich burials are not just quite nich contrast between the large manufacture of rich ones. These rich burials are not just quite and a male to number of rich ones. They contain a huge array of gold fitting. number of rich ones. These mumber of rich ones. These contain a huge array of gold fittings are staggeringly so. They contain a huge array of gold fittings and the cloisonna are staggeringly so. They contained the collections being the cloisonne are mounted in their stage and in their stage are mounted in their stage. ornamentation, the state of the stones are mounted in their and garnet jewellery in which the stones are mounted in their and garnet jewellery in which the stones are mounted in their and stones are mounted in the stones are mounted and stones a and garnet jewellery in which are some an effect not unlike mosaic. This kind of work gold cases to give an effect not unlike mosaic. This kind of work is become the mark of elites everywhere in the law to the gold cases to give an energy of elites everywhere in the late and would later become the mark of elites everywhere in the late and would later become the style of the cloisonné jewellen burial of the early seventh post-Roman periods. For a post-Roman periods, to burial of the early seventh century in control on elite imaginations in the surface of the early seventh century in the ce found in the Sutton Lack Anglia originally gained its hold on elite imaginations in Humic East Angua original, at Apahida (modern Transylvania) production of the first specific and easter that the first specific and easter the first specific and easter that the first specific and easter the over sixty gold items, including a solid gold eagle that fitted on to in owner's saddle. Every other piece of this individual's horse equipment was likewise made of gold, and he himself was decked from head to foot in golden jewellery. There are other similarly wealthy burials a well as others containing smaller numbers of gold items.<sup>30</sup>

The presence of so much gold in Germanic central and eastern Europe is highly significant. Up to the birth of Christ, social different ation in the Germanic world manifested itself funerarily, if at all, only by the presence in certain graves of larger than usual numbers of handmade pots, or of slightly more decorative bronze and iron safetypins. By the third and fourth centuries AD, some families were buying their dead with silver safety-pins, lots of beads, and perhaps some wheel-turned pottery; but gold was not being used to distinguish even elite burials at this point - the best they could manage was a little silver. The Hunnic Empire changed this, and virtually overnight. gold-rich burials of the 'Danubian style' mark a sudden explosion of gold grave goods into this part of Europe. There is no doubt when the gold came from: what we're looking at in the grave goods of fitte century Hyperson in the grave goods of weather century Hungary is the physical evidence of the transfer of wealth northwards from the Roman world that we read about in priscus and the other worlds. the other written sources. The Huns, as we saw in the last chapter were after gold and in the last chapter. were after gold and other moveable wealth from the Empire-whether in the form of in the form of mercenary payments, booty or, especially, and tributes. Clearly larger the jews tributes. Clearly, large amounts of gold were recycled into the just

THE FALL OF THE HUNNIC EMPIRE and appliqués found in their graves. The fact that many of these indicates that the Huns did not the rich burials of Germans indicates that the Huns did not the rich and the appliqués found in their graves. The fact that many of these spiral appliqués found in their side distributed quantities of it control the gold themselves, but distributed quantities of it control the gold themselves as well. There is the gold themselves as well. There is the gold themselves as well. of these leaders, consequently of these leaders, consequently of the rich burials of t The the gold mentage, as well. These leaders, consequently, where of the indeed.

Where very rich indeed.

the reasoning behind this strategy was that, if Germanic leaders successes of the Hunnic Empire reven a stake in the successes of the Hunnic Empire reven a stake in the successes of the Hunnic Empire revenue. waris very rich indeed. the reasoning octains the successes of the Hunnic Empire, then would be given a stake in the successes would run relatively and things would run relatively successes. old be given a start and things would run relatively smoothly.

But would be minimized and things would run relatively smoothly.

But would be given a start and things would run relatively smoothly. would be minimized princes would help lubricate the politics of gold to the subject princes of revolt. Since there are guide and fend off thoughts of revolt. of gold to the subject the politics of revolt. Since there are quite a few supply and fend off thoughts of revolt. Since there are quite a few containing gold items, these princes must have necessary print and tend on the series of the series are quite a few brials containing gold items, these princes must have passed on some brials containing gold terms, these princes must have passed on some brials containing gold items, these princes must have passed on some brials containing gold items, these princes must have passed on some brials containing gold items, these princes must have passed on some burials containing 80 and supporters. 32 The gold thus reflects the politics of the gold to favoured supporters that the prince burial court. (It's nice to think that the prince burial than the prince buria of Artila's court. (It's nice to think that the prince buried at Apahida of Artila's court one that Priscus encountered.) Equality in the been one that Priscus encountered.) of Attila's court. (A that Priscus encountered.) Equally important, the pay have been such gold distributions in countering the endemic internal me of such gold distributions with what we know of the combined with what we know of the ole of such gold with what we know of the source of that gold, intability, combined with what we know of the source of that gold, instability, controlled of predatory warfare in keeping afloat the leaky burk that was the Hunnic ship of state.

First and foremost, success in warfare built up the reputation of the current leader as a figure of overwhelming power. Witness the cose of Attila and the sword of Mars. But there is every reason to suppose that military success had been just as important for his predecessors. A reputation for power brought with it the capacity to inimidate subject peoples, and it was also military success, of course, that provided the gold and other booty that kept their leaders in line although the speed with which subject groups opted out of the Empire the Attila's death suggests that the payments did not compensate for the burden of exploitation. In contrast to the Roman Empire, which, \* we have seen, attempted to keep population levels low in frontier treas so as to minimize the potential for trouble, the Hunnic Empire acked in subject peoples in huge numbers.33 The concentration of and a great body of manpower generated a magnificent war machine, which had to be used - it contained far too many inner tensions to be allowed to lie idle. The number of Hunnic subject groups outnumbered the Lt. betted the Huns proper, probably in a ratio of several to one. It was thential to keep the subject peoples occupied, or restless elements Nould be looking for outlets for their energy and the Empire's rickety tructure might begin to crumble.

WE HAVE ARRIVED at a very different perspective on Attila the is often the case, the factor that made him so powerful the limitary force that brief that the brief tha WE HAVE ARRIVED at a very different perspective on Attila the sime his greatest liability. The military force that brushal bru As is often the case, the factor when the same time his greatest liability. The military force that bright was which it provided by Was illust? same time his greatest manuary.

the armies of the east Roman Empire in the 440s was itself.

The victories with which it provided him cements. the armies of the east Roman control of the armies unstable. The victories with winess as provided him control in the short term, but it was riven with internal tension had dominance. Should him with each would desert in a making the should him him to be a making the should him to be control in the short term, but it was a transmitted internal tension for victories were essential, to maintain his dominance, Should his to crack, then his subjects would desert into the welcome. victories were essential, to make would desert into the welcome start to crack, then his subjects would desert into the welcome start barbarian common commo tion start to crack, then make the greatest barbarian conqueror history, but he was riding a tiger of unparalleled to arms of the Romans. Attura was riding a tiger of unparalleled fences

To my mind, this in turn explains his otherwise mysterious the end of the 440s. Between 441 and 447, Attild's To my mind, trus in the state of the 440s. Between 441 and 447, Attila's areas protections the west at the end of the had ransacked the Balkans except for some small areas protected because of its genometry two major obstacles: the Peloponnese because of its geographic isolation, and the city of Constantinople because of its stunning and the city of Empire was on its knees: the annual and annual annual and annual and annual an defences. The eastern Empire was on its knees: the annual tributes was having to pay out was the largest ever expended by a factor of Constantinonle in a factor of ten. The Huns had squeezed out of Constantinople just about every thing they were likely to get; at the very least, further campaigning against it was bound to run into the law of diminishing returns, But there on the Hungarian Plain Attila sat, still surrounded by a hag military machine that could not be left idle. With nothing to attack in the Balkans, another target had to be found. Attila turned to the wes, in other words, because he'd exhausted the decent targets available in the east.

This suggests a final judgement on the Hunnic Empire. Politically dependent upon military victory and the flow of gold, it was bound to make war to the point of its own defeat, then be pushed by that defeat into internal crisis. The setbacks in Gaul and Italy in 451 and 452 must anyway have begun to puncture Attila's aura of invincibility. They certainly caused some diminution in the flow of gold, and some of the outlying subject peoples may already have been getting restive. Quite likely, Attila's death and the civil war between his sons provided just the opportunity they were looking for. Overall, there can be no more Vivid testament to the unresolved tensions between dominant Hunder rulers and exploited non-Hunnic subjects than the astonishing denies of Attila's Empire. The strange death of Hunnic Europe, however, was also interested in the strange death of Hunnic Europe, however, was also integral to the collapse of the western Empire.

# A New Balance of Power

of one Huge power centred on the Great Hungarian Plain, out towards the Rhine in one direction, the property of the Roman Empire both on the Great Hungarian Plain, of successor states and west new case another, as another, of successor states and west new case another. mone direction, the Black of successor states. Much of the time cound in mother, a pack of successor states. in mother, the of successor states. Much of the time fighting of successor states, they also pressed periodically upon the newsork themselves, they also pressed periodically upon the newsork themselves. so pace a pace they also pressed periodically upon the Roman themselves, they also pressed periodically upon the Roman and themselves, they also pressed periodically upon the Roman themselves, they also pressed periodically upon the Roman and the Empire became ever more deeply involved in a superior to the time fighting themselves, and personically upon the Roman who the Empire became ever more deeply involved in the fall-form the Hunnic collapse, the nature of Roman formitted from the Hunnic collapse. fortier the Hunnic collapse, the nature of Roman foreign policy and from the frontier began to change. In confronting at a Danube frontier began to change. the frontier began to change. In confronting their new of the Danube Roman authorities had two priorities. The on the Danube north of the Danube from smaller the squabbling north of the squ mution, the squabbling north of the Danube from spilling over into perent the squabbling in the form of invasions or income territory in the form of invasions or income. prevent the square in the form of invasions or incursions, while their own territory in the emerged from the chaos should be the standard that what emerged from the chaos should be the standard that what emerged from the chaos should be standard that what emerged from the chaos should be standard to the standard that what emerged from the chaos should be standard to the standard transfer transfer to the standard transfer t beir own territory, while suggrarding that what emerged from the chaos should not be another suggrarding that what emerged from the chaos should not be another

The loss of the full text of Priscus' history prevents us from telling monolithic empire. Includes story from the Roman perspective, but the essence is a continued to distil. The surviving sources refer to overflows of various kinds on to Roman territory, the result of the ferocious struggle for Lebensraum on the other side of the Danube. Into the western Empire large numbers of refugees now flooded, individuals and groups who had decided that life south of the river looked preferable to the continuing struggle north of it. The most famous of these refugees was Odovacar, son of Edeco and prince of the Sciri. After the Amalled Goths destroyed the Scirian kingdom, he moved into Roman territory with a band of followers, heading first for Gaul and then for ltaly, where he signed up with the Roman army. His lead was followed by many others of less distinguished origins. By the early 470s, the Roman army of Italy was dominated by central European refugees: Sciri are specifically mentioned, along with Herules, Alans and Torciling, who had all been recruited into its ranks. 4 The surviving sources give us no numbers and no precise dates for the population moves that had brought them to Italy. This perhaps suggests that we should think in terms of a steady flow of immigration and recruitment, rather than a single large-scale influx, although factors such as the destruction of Science of Scirian independence presumably accelerated the process.

If some groups, displaced in dribs and drabs, were merely fleeing the carnage north of the Danube, others were seeking to create their

own enclaves on Roman soil – perceiving this, it would seem the Hungarian plan to groups were finding the companies of groups were finding the companies the own enclaves on Roman soil – perceiving this, it would easier option than continuing to compete on the Hungarian pilatorial shree separate incursions on to east Roman in the competition in the competitio easier option than continuing to the continuing to the mid-460s, a number of groups were finding the garian blain handle, and three separate incursions on to east Roman blain. the mid-460s, a number or groups the mid-460s, a number or groups the mid-460s, and three separate incursions on to east Rompetition to mentioned on the muranity hot to handle, and three separate medical on to east Roman took place in quick succession. In 466 or just afterwards, the cook place in quick succession. In 466 or just afterwards, the cook place in quick succession. In 466 or just afterwards, the cook place on page 313) had where he was defended as 313) had been successive. took place in quick succession. In took place in quick succession. In the succession of the fourth group mentioned on page 353 took where he was defeated, Jordane in the same time a band of Hune lad ordane. king Bigelis (of the fourth group king Bigelis (of the Danube, where he was defeated, 353) took followers south of the Danube, where he was defeated, 353) led to have the more or less the same time a band of Huns led by a contracting as far as the city of a band of the city of a band o followers south of the Danube, which is a band of Huns led by a central Acres of Serdica to the same time a band of Huns led by a central Acres of Serdica to the same time a band of Huns led by a central Acres of Serdica to the same time a band of Huns led by a central Acres of Serdica to the same time a band of Huns led by a central Acres of Serdica to the same time a band of Huns led by a central Acres of Serdica to the same time a band of Huns led by a central Acres of Serdica to the same time a band of Huns led by a central time a band of Huns led by a band us. 35 At more or less the same us. 35 At more or less the same us. 36 At more or less the same us. 37 At more or less the same led by a central Anthemius, 8 It mode by a central Anthemius, 8 It mode by the less than 10 and 10 Hormidac raided Dacia, peneral Roman general Anthemius of Serdica The they were defeated by the east Roman general Anthemius of the they were defeated by the east Roman general Anthemius of the they were defeated by the east Roman general Anthemius of the they were defeated by the east Roman general Anthemius of the they were defeated by the east Roman general Anthemius of the they were defeated by the east Roman general Anthemius of the they were defeated by the east Roman general Anthemius of the they were defeated by the east Roman general Anthemius of the they were defeated by the east Roman general Anthemius of the they were defeated by the east Roman general Anthemius of the they were defeated by the east Roman general Anthemius of the they were defeated by the east Roman general Anthemius of the they were defeated by the east Roman general Anthemius of the they were defeated by the east Roman general Anthemius of the they were defeated by the east Roman general Anthemius of the their them. they were defeated by the cast they were defeated by the cast this point too that Attila's son Dengizich made his play for a piece of the prosper of the pro this point too that Attua's son east Roman territory; as we have seen, he too failed to prosper of these armed bands more or less coincides with the east Roman territory; as we have or less coincides with the want arrival of these armed bands more or less coincides with the want on the Middle Dannie. between the Amal-led Goths and their rivals on the Middle Danuban the smaller flow of refugees into the western p Plain, and, like the smaller flow of refugees into the western Empire

At the same time the new kingdoms were also, to an enter At the same time the Huns had left off. Thanks to one of the two surviving fragments from Priscus' history that deal with the aftermath of the fall of Attila's Empire, we know that Valamer and he Goths invaded the east Roman Empire to extract an annual substitution from it. By the early 460s, Priscus records, this amounted to 30 pounds of gold<sup>38</sup> - a much smaller amount than was extracted by Attila at the height of his power (2,100 pounds) and less than half that paid to the Hun at the start of his reign. But it was not an insignificant sum, and if Valamer were to succeed in expanding his power-base further, there was always the chance that he would up his demands just as the Huns had done. Since the authorities in Constantinople were probably having to pay annual subsidies to some of the other successor kingdoms as well, they had to tread very carefully. The new kingdoms had the potential to amalgamate into something just nasty as Attila's Empire. Some insight into Roman attitudes toward this potential problem is provided by the other relevant fragment in survive from Priscus' history.39 During the interval between the interva and second bouts of fighting between the Goths and the Sciri, both sides sent embassies to Constantinople asking for assistance. No of wanted to aid the Goths, but opinion was divided as to the best court of the to take. One counsel was that the Romans should keep out of the conflict angle of the co conflict entirely. Eventually, it was decided to give limited support

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Signature ignores this dimension of the post-Attilan conflicts, fordanes ignores not only manoeuvring with and account that all sides were not only manoeuvring with and account that trying to secure Roman suppose. soft for that all sides were not only manoeuvring with and against to secure Roman support as well. The force of the standard of the secure Roman support as well. The force of the standard of the secure Roman support as well. what all sides were more representations with and against that all sides were from the support as well. The fact that where the support is the support as th but trying to but that support as well. The fact that another, but trying to back them attests to the increasing another constantinople wanted to back them attests to the increasing another of the Amal-led Goths, who were the closest thing to be one of the Amal-led Goths, who were the closest thing to be one of the Amal-led Goths, who were the closest thing to be one of the Amal-led Goths, who were the closest thing to be one of the Amal-led Goths, who were the closest thing to be one of the Amal-led Goths, who were the closest thing the beautiful that the closest thing the beautiful that the closest thing the beautiful that the beautiful that the closest thing the beautiful that the beau one in Constantinophi Goths, who were the closest thing to a new

The Romans great Hun's death, the eastern emperation of the great Hun's death, the eastern emperations. The Romans great Hun's death, the eastern emperor Marcian is on the night of the great happy dream in which he saw Attila's have had a happy dream in which he saw Attila's have on the night of the had a happy dream in which he saw Attila's bow broken and to have had a happy dream of a rival superior of have nau a her disappearance of a rival superpower proved in 100.00 However, the disappearance of a development that is be the end of all troubles, but a development that However, all troubles, but a development that spawned a problems. The prospect of a first problems. not 10 be the class of new problems. The prospect of a further clash of whole series of new problems to be replaced by whole series of a nurther clash of a nurther clash of anytires had vanished only to be replaced by many complicated applies with serious implications for had a nurther clash of empires nau variety suspect that these and I strongly suspect that these and I strongly suspect that these regional world. And I strongly suspect that those we hear about in our Roman works collection of sources represent no more than the tip of the pourly Furthermore, the many and varied problems of refugees and indeed problems of refugees and icentiles were as nothing compared with the broader consequences of the crash of Attila's Empire. Above all, it destroyed the balance of forces on which, by the mid-fifth century, the western Roman Empire had come to depend.

#### The Fall of Aetius

As we saw in Chapter 6, the emperor Valentinian III, son of Flavius Constantius and Galla Placidia, came to the throne in 425 at the age of six. He had been put there by the armies of the eastern Empire, and had never really held the reins of power. An eight-year domination by his mother, who eventually failed in her balancing act between the commanders of the several western army groups, had given way to that of Aetius. This man's extraordinary military acumen during the 4308 would both keep the western Empire afloat and cement his own hold on power. At fourteen a Roman youth was notionally an adult and could make legally binding decisions about property, but at this age in 433 Valentinian was nowhere near ready to compete for power with a tough and experienced general, especially when the Empire faced so many military problems. And by the time he might have been ble to exercise authority, five or six years later, Aetius' position was

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fully consolidated. By 440 it was the general, not the making the key decisions about policies and the emperation appointment to avoid the appointment. fully consolidated. By 440 It was the general, not the was making the key decisions about policies and the entern state of affairs that Placidia had laboured to avoid over the power over y state of affairs that Placidia nad laboured to avoid the state of affairs that Placidia nad laboured to avoid the state of power over which he had a common west found had been stated as a common west for the common w Thus, trapped within patients of Power over the Roman west found have figurehead. The drudgery of such an existence is easy to have to be a such as the control of the large out of Italy, Valentinian casy to have to be a such as the control of the large out of Italy. Thus, the notional emperor of the Roman West found by mere figurehead. The drudgery of such an existence is easy to be and Ravenna, his round a pent by the round mere figurehead. The druggery of state and existence is easy line to the state of t estimate. Never venturing out states and Ravenna, his routine alternation a private life replete with the trappings of almost interest. shuttling between Rome and state occasions. An emperor's job, as we have a we have a memory and state occasions. between a private life repiete with the carpings of almost limit wealth, and state occasions. An emperor's job, as we have seen a mode of God-ordainal was expense. wealth, and state occasions. All timperor aloue, as we have wealth to embody the core ideologies of the Roman state. He was entire of the core ideologies of the Roman state. He was entire of the core ideologies of the Roman state. He was entire of the core ideologies of the Roman state. He was entire of the core ideologies of the Roman state. He was entire of the core ideologies of the Roman state. He was entire of the core ideologies of the Roman state. He was entire the core ideologies of the Roman state. He was entire the core ideologies of the Roman state. He was entire the core ideologies of the Roman state. He was entire the core ideologies of the Roman state. He was entire the core ideologies of the Roman state. He was entire the core ideologies of the Roman state. He was entire the core ideologies of the Roman state. He was entire the core ideologies of the Roman state. He was entire the core ideologies of the Roman state. He was entire the core ideologies of the Roman state. He was entire the core ideologies of the Roman state. He was entire the core ideologies of the Roman state. He was entire the core ideologies of the Roman state. to embody the core accordance, indeed God-ordained, hatter of the divin. to encapsulate the supernuman, Roman world order, displaying in his ceremonial self the divine of the had called the Roman Empire into being. As the state of the Roman world order, displaying port that had called the Roman Empire into being. As the divide to processions, Christian masses and and the star by in the many ceremonies, processions, Christian masses and auditord to officiate as he could never let his halo slip. And what he had to officiate at the halo supremely tedious in its repetitivener. in and day out, was supremely tedious in its repetitiveness to omciate at the enitome of the one-party state in action with the contract of Empire being the epitome of the one-party state in action, public tolerated. Unity was all. Ceremonies agreement was not tolerated. Unity was all. Ceremonies were related to the point home. It was under the lessly orchestrated to bring this point home. It was under Valentina it will be remembered, that the Theodosian Code was introduced to be Senate (see p. 124). Valentinian was spared this particular perform ance, but it was typical of what he had daily to endure. The acts mations that probably prefaced every major imperial ceremon involved 245 shouts of approval from the assembled senators. A but experiment I have just run with my eleven-year-old son reveals that you can shout about eighteen such acclamations in a minute, so that the ceremony for the Code would have taken at least forty minutes and that's not allowing for fatigue setting in and slowing things down towards the end.

Valentinian's predecessors had experienced the same daily min but they at least had the satisfaction of making policy decisions and appointments behind closed doors once the spectaculars were one We have already witnessed the frustration that such a lifestyle cut dered in Valentinian's sister Honoria: an affair with her estate manufacture and the state manuf an unwanted pregnancy and a dangerous liaison with Attila the History (see Chapter 7). Nor was it easy for Valentinian to change thing is difficult for is difficult for royal minors who reach adulthood only to they still remains they still remain marginal to the exercise of power. They may be still remain marginal to the exercise of power.

THE PALL OF THE HUNNIC EMPIRE to the winds, like the seventeen-year-old Edward III, who on 19 October 1330 broke into Nottingham casel on indight mother Queen Isabella, arrest han i to the winds, and to the on 19 October 1330 broke into Nottingham castle to on 19 October Isabella, arrest her lover Morriman mother Queen Isabella, arrest her lover Morriman his mother power. But most rowal and the same of power. outon on 19 Queen Isabella, arrest her lover Mortimer, and midnight mother Queen But most royal minors are not so derive her reins of power. But most royal minors are not so derive the reins of power was the vound amount of the reins of power. s mother was the young emperor's only bulward and the 440s Aetius was the young emperor's only bulward and remove reins of Powers are not so daring in the 440s Aetius was the young emperor's only bulwark against and Huns.

Huns, nothing that Valentinian could do about his frustra-if there was and 440s, the collapse of the Hunnic II.... of there was and 440s, the collapse of the Hunnic Empire brought thous in the 430s and 440s, through western court circles by a find the document of change blowing through western court circles by the collapse of the Hunnic Empire brought note the days are found through western court circles. By 450 or so, wind of change blowing through western Aetius and his wind of change of contention had arisen between Aetius and his emperor.

who bones of contention had arisen between Theodosius II L. 1 bones of contest the eastern emperor Theodosius II had died after on 28 july that year the eastern was of the Theodosius II had died after his horse. Valentinian was of the Theodosius II had died after on 28 july that horse. Valentinian was of the Theodosian dynasty, full from his horse of Theodosius' daughters. Fudovia fall from the front one of Theodosius' daughters, Eudoxia, and it was Theomaried to one of anything on the western the control of the control married to who had put him on the western throne in a determined dosius' forces who had put him on the western throne in a determined dosius restatement of the unity of that dynasty (see Chapter 6). Theodosius restatement of the east, his only son Arcadius had been its last male representative in the east, his only son Arcadius had been sold of soint a cousin's death, Valentinian having pales, so we are told, of going to Constantinople to assert his had the idea, so we are told, of going to Constantinople to assert his daim to rule the entire Roman world as sole emperor. Aetius set himself against the plan. It was certainly ill conceived. Valentinian had no contacts in Constantinople, and eastern political circles were not about to welcome him. Matters there were ordered by Theodosius' sister Pulcheria, who had been a strong voice throughout her brother's reign. Eventually she married a staff officer by the name of Marcian. On 25 August it was Marcian who became the new emperor of the east. Valentinian had missed his chance, such as it was, and Aetius' opposition to his plan continued to rankle.

The second disagreement between the two concerned marriage alliances. Valentinian's union with Eudoxia, produced only two daughters: Eudocia (born in 438 or 439) and Placidia (born between 439 and 443). By the early 450s, after fifteen years of marriage, it was unlikely that the imperial couple would have any more children. This meant that the succession to the western Empire was up for grabs, and the likeliest route to securing it would be marriage to one or other of Valentinian's daughters. As we saw in Chapter 6, Eudocia had been betrothed to Huneric, son of Geiseric king of the Vandals, as part of the part of the peace deal of the 440s, and he was not a serious contender for the through the throne. It was thus Placidia who became the key to the future of the P of the Roman west, and Aetius worked hard in the early 450s to

persuade Valentinian to betroth her to his son Gaudentius would have cemented Actius in power, making it would succeed Valentinian, Given College of the control of the con persuade Valentinian to betrom the last son Gaudentius marriage would have cemented Aetius in power, making it extra that Gaudentius would succeed Valentinian. Given the dynasty marriage into the dynasty men the last son Gaudentius would succeed Valentinian. marriage would have cemented Action in Power, making its likely that Gaudentius would succeed Valentinian. Given the dynasty would the last would say the same was the same was to be same likely that Gaudentius would success a male Theodosian heir, marriage into the dynasty would have be same procedule. Whether in procedule a male Theodosian heir, marriage and a male Theodosian heir, marriage and a male Theodosian heir, marriage and sufficient to confer legitimacy, especially as the same brould have been followed in Constantinople. Whether, in pushing to a perception subming to a perception subming the same procedure by the sa sufficient to confer legitimacy, especially as the same procedure by just been followed in Constantinople. Whether, in procedure by weakened his hold one, that the each just been followed in Constantinopa.

marriage, Aetius was responding to a perception that the form to be a perception to be a perceptio marriage, Actius was responding succession issue had already weakened his hold over Valenting increased the emperor's all succession issue had already wearenessed the emperor's already unclear. But the proposal certainly increased the emperor's already unclear. Some seentment at the extent to which he was being marginal. unclear. But the proposal certainly unclear. But the proposal cert

hin his own Empire.

Moreover, with the death of Attila and the collapse of his Employeemed much less critical to Valentinian's survival Moreover, with the death of Actius now seemed much less critical to Valentinian's survival, and imperial and imperial and imperial Actius now seemed much loss after all, who embodied imperial one since reaching adulthood, Valentinian one nuity. For the first time since reaching adulthood, Valentinian could generalissimo. Aetine could dare to contemplate life without his generalissimo. Aetius pentang which might be another reason why leading pentang p dare to contemplate me which might be another reason why he rited sensed the danger, which might be another reason why he rited sensed the danger, while the danger was here always lurked in the danger. For all in emphasis on consensus, sharks always lurked in the deeper waten of Roman imperial politics; now, individuals in the emperor's entourse caught the first faint scent of blood. Of the plot that eventually brough Actius down we are pretty well informed, thanks again to the labour of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. An account survives in another of his works: Excerpts concerning Plots. The fall of Aetius is preserved in a fragment from the history of a certain John of Antioch, but he was late compiler and probably drew primarily on the history of Prisons So it is again the Priscus-Constantine axis that tells us what we want

There were two main conspirators. The first was a Roman sensor of high birth named Petronius Maximus. He had begun his care before Aetius came to power, but was clearly considered an Aetin loyalist. Between 439 and 441 he held the important post of Praetonia Prefect of Italy, and was named consul for a second time in 443-box appointments taking place during Aetius' pre-eminence.42 The second was drawn from the A-list of likely suspects in any Roman palace plate the eunuch head of the emperor's household Heraclius, the primiting sacri cubiculi (Chief of the Sacred Bedroom). Armed with two issue with which to work on Valentinian, and aided by the fact that Hunnic threat had receded, the plotters did their worst.

THE FALL OF THE HUNNIC EMPIRE Active was explaining the finances and calculating the tax with a shout Valentinian suddenly leaped un from that he would Aetius was explaining the tax with a shout Valentinian suddenly leaped up from his revenues, and cried out that he would no longer be abused by the same and cried out that he would no longer be abused by the same and cried out that he would no longer be abused by the same and cried out that he would no longer be abused by the same and cried out that he would no longer be abused by the same and cried out that he would no longer be abused by the same and cried out that he would no longer be abused by the same and cried out that he would no longer be abused by the same and cried out that he would no longer be abused by the same and cried out that he would no longer be abused by the same and cried out that he would no longer be abused by the same and cried out that he would no longer be abused by the same and cried out that he would no longer be abused by the same and cried out that he would no longer by the same and cried out that he would no longer by the same and cried out that he would no longer by the same and cried out that he would no longer by the same and cried out that he would no longer by the same and cried out that he would no longer by the same and cried out that he would no longer by the same and cried out that he would no longer by the same and cried out that he would no longer by the same and cried out that he would no longer by the same and cried out that he would no longer by the same and cried out that he would no longer by the same and cried out that he would no longer by the same and cried out the same and cried out that he would no longer by the same and cried out that he would no longer by the same and cried out the same and cried with a smooth that he would no longer be abused by such evenues, with a Actius was stunned by this unexpand. While Actius was stunned by this unexpand. regenerated out While Aetius was stunned by this unexpected rage throne and cried out While Aetius was stunned by this unexpected rage throne area attempting to calm his irrational outburst. Wall was attempting to calm his irrational outburst. mucheries with to calm his irrational outburst, Valentinian and was sword from his scabbard and, together with Limited by this unexpected rage attempung attempung a scabbard and, together with Heraclius, and was sword from his scabbard under his cloak... fell was carrying a knife ready under his cloak... fell was carrying a knife ready under his cloak... 

Attacked simultaneously by emperor and eunuch, on 21 or 22 Septem-Affacted simultaneous lay dead in the palace. His fall was followed by the bet 454 Actius lay dead in the palace. Chief among the victima be 454 Aetius 129 Chief among the victims was Aetius' praetorian Prefect of Italy, a senator by the round of Prefect of Italy, a senator by the name of Boethius, current figher of the famous philosopher.

gandfather of the famous philosopher. valentinian had waited until his thirties, but he had finally broken Valentially broken fee. Unfortunately for him, he was not nearly as successful as the fee. Union the Edward would be some 900 years later at rallying support goung sterwards. For one thing, the conspirators soon fell out among themselves:

After the murder of Aetius, Maximus paid court to Valentinian hoping that he would be made consul, and when he failed to achieve this, he wished to become Patrician. But Heraclius ... acting from the same ambition and not wishing a counter-balance to his own power, thwarted Maximus' efforts by persuading Valentinian that, now he had freed himself from the oppression of Aetius, he should not transfer his power to others.

Old habits die hard, and even after Aetius' death Valentinian was not really in charge. The challenge was on to run him, especially as he had no male offspring, which meant that, in the longer term, the imperial succession remained an open race. Once it became clear that he was getting nowhere by persuasion, Maximus turned again to deadlier methods, this time suborning two guards officers, Optila and Thraustila, who had been close to Aetius. Priscus relates that, on 16 March

Valentinian decided to go riding [in Rome] on the Campus Martius ... When he dismounted from his horse and was walking off to practise archery, Optila and his followers . . . attacked him. Optila struck Valentinian across the side of the head and, when he turned to see who had struck him, felled him with a second blow to the face. Thraustila cut down Heraclius, and both rode on or blow to the face. Thrausura cut horse and horse and rode of to

So perished Valentinian, iess after the third that always followed there was no reads rule rule and the state of the was no reads. Actius. This is the kind of political very state of of autocratic rule, albert person basely and ready-made replies. regime change in the Emphro. There was no ready-made regime in this case more a regency, there was no ready-made regime to regime to the constructed by inches in this case more a regency, in this case more a regency, waiting. As usual, a coalition had been hastily constructed by including the had no intention of sharing power with one intention of sharing power with one intention. waiting. As usual, a countries with one intention of sharing power with one individuals who had no intention of Aetius' fall was nothing out of the pattern of the pat uals who had no internet.

uals who had no internet.

afterwards. But if the pattern of Aetius' fall was nothing out of the fact that it failed to generate an immediate on the afterwards. But it the pattern ordinary, and the fact that it failed to generate an immediate successor other features were highly particular. Faccing the control of the c ordinary, and the race that the hardly surprising, other features were highly particular. Fascinating in the objective for Aetius, originally appearing in the objective for Aetius appearing appearing in the objective for Aetius appearing appearing appear hardly surprising, outer the for Aetius, originally appearing in Priscut in Priscut after the murder:

Through his alliance with the barbarians, he had protected place dia, Valentinian's mother, and her son while he was a child When Boniface crossed from North Africa with a large army, he out-generalled him . . . Felix, who was his fellow general, he killed by cunning when he learned that he was preparing to destroy him at Placidia's suggestion. He crushed the [Visigoths] who were encroaching on Roman territory, and he brought to heel the [Bagaudae] . . . In short, he wielded enormous power, so that not only kings but neighbouring peoples came at his order.

As obituaries go, it's pretty succinct, and it captures the mix of plotting at court and campaigning in the field that was the reality of Aetius' political life. What is especially interesting is the mention in its opening words of Aetius' dependence on an alliance with 'barbarians'. Not just any barbarians, but one group in particular: the Huns. As the passage suggests, Aetius' career was founded upon his Hunnic alliance. It was the Huns who sustained him when he seemed about to lose civil was - first in 425 as the usurpation of John unravelled, and again in 437 when Boniface defeated him at their first confrontation. And 25 We saw in Chapter 6, Hunnic troops played a central role in his restorated of order in Co. of order in Gaul in the 430s, particularly in his defeats of the Burgundians and the same many Burgundians and Visigoths. Actius' death was far more than one man's tragedy. It also tragedy. It also marked the end of an era. The death of Attila and disappearance of attacks and the end of an era. disappearance of the Hunnic Empire not only made it possible for

THE FALL OF THE HUNNIC EMPIRE to contemplate life without Aetius, it also undermined the which Aetius had kept the water balance of powers without the Himself balance Aetius without the Himself balance of Aetius without Without Aetius, it also undermined the without Aetius had kept the western without the Huns had been surpliment business. Aetius needed to find this successors needed to find white in business. Actius had kept the western the hour is business. Actius without the Huns had been surplus to find a new mechanical successors needed to find a new mechanical support in his sup western

William to His successors needed to find a new mechanism for

Western

Western

Huns had been surplus to

find a new mechanism for

Manufacture in business. Aetius william needed to find a new mechanism for

Manufacture in business. Aetius william needed to find a new mechanism for

Manufacture in business. Aetius william needed to find a new mechanism for requiring the West.

# Brave New World

THE KEY TO understanding the new political order brought on by the THE RET TO UNDERSTANDING THE POPULAR ORDER brought on by the sinction of Hunnic power is provided by virtually the first act of sinction-lived regime of Petronius Maximus.

ainction of Petronius Maximus. thort-lived regard Valentinian III on 16 March 455, he was pro-Having multiple following day. His hands had barely grasped the dimed emperor when he sent an ambassador to solicit the support of imperial sceptre when had been settled in imperial scepus who had been settled in south-western France the powering was the powering was one of his newly appointed military ince 418. The man he chose was one of his newly appointed military ommanders, perhaps commanding general in Gaul (magister militum ger Gallias), Eparchius Avitus. Avitus was a Gallic aristocrat of impecable fortune and education. Descended from high office-holders, he was related to a network of important families, and his estates centred on Clermont-Ferrand in the Auvergne. He had served with distinction under Aetius in the campaigns against the Norici and Burgundians in the 430s, then followed this up with a spell as supreme civilian administrator in Gaul - Praetorian Prefect - between 439 and 441. At that point he left office, possibly through natural rotation or because he fell out with Aetius, to return to prominence about a decade later. He then played a major role in negotiating the Visigothic assistance that helped Aetius repel Attila's assault on Gaul in 451.44 In every way, therefore, Avitus was an excellent choice. Close to Aetius, but not too close, he had a good track record and connections with both the Gallic

From Avitus himself, no writings have survived. As more than aristocracy and the Goths. Partial compensation, however, we have a collection of poetry and letters from the compensation of the compensation of poetry and letters from the compensation of letters from his son-in-law, a certain Gaius Sollius Modestus Apollinaris Sidonius (1). The name is Sidonius (who has already been cited in this book). The name is generally the sidonius As his marriage generally shortened for sanity's sake to Sidonius. As his marriage alliance with the family of Avitus might suggest, Sidonius derived from Gallic land Gallic landowning stock of similar standing - its main estates were situated around Lyon in the Rhône valley. His father had been past, Sidonius' writings tand been been standard been been situated around Lyon in the Rhône valley. His father had been past, Sidonius' writings tand been been situated been past, Sidonius' writings tand been been situated been situated been situated around Lyon in the Rhône valley. His father had been past, Sidonius' writings tand been situated around Lyon in the Rhône valley. His father had been past, Sidonius' writings tand been situated around Lyon in the Rhône valley. situated around Lyon in the RHOLLE VALLEY. Fills father had be praetorian Prefect of Gaul himself about a decade after Avitus, hold be when any decent-thinking tended to be seen to be see Praetorian Prefect of Gaul numsen about a declade after Avitual by the post in 448/9.45 In the past, Sidonius' writings tended to the post in 448/9.45 In the past, Sidonius' writings tended to the post in 448/9.45 In the past, Sidonius' writings tended to the post in 448/9.45 In the past, Sidonius' writings tended to the post in 448/9.45 In the past, Sidonius' writings tended to the post in 448/9.45 In the past, Sidonius' writings tended to the post in 448/9.45 In the past, Sidonius' writings tended to the past of the past, Sidonius' writings tended to the past of th the post in 448/9.45 In the past, Statistical Writings tended to the rather bad press. At a time when any decent-thinking tended to the classical Latin (first-century BC or AD) he was broken rather bad press. At a time when any second tribulating chap was brought the classical Latin (first-century BC or AD) he was brought the classical with the class work could be well as the class with the class work could be could be complexed. standards of the classical Laum (most standards of the classical Laum (most standards) he was brough up on, the complexities and allusiveness of Sidonius' work could be if not shock. Compared with the clarity and mathematical control of the classical Laum (most shock) he was brought on the clarity and mathematical control of the classical Laum (most shock) he was brought of the classical Laum up on, the complexities and anosive work could be aggravate, if not shock. Compared with the clarity and only of sav. Caesar, his love of showing off seemed the heid the heid aggravate, if not shock. Compared to the victorian era, Sir Samual of factness of, say, Caesar, his sold factness of, say

[Sidonius] is essentially a literary man, of the stamp which this [Sidonius] is essentially a most admired. He is a stylist.

There is little doubt that he as a stylist. age of decadence tune. There is little doubt that he valued his own compositions not for their substance, but for those character, istics of style which we now think most worthless or even repulsive in them, the childish conceits, the meaningless antitheses, the torture applied to language so as to give an air of interest and distinction to the trivial commonplace of a colourless

Even in translation, Sidonius can drive you crazy with his inability  $\mathfrak w$ call a spade a spade, and there's no doubt he spent a lot of time trying to say things in as complicated a way as possible. One of his later letters contains a nicely illuminating comment, delivered at a moment when he thought that the literary audience he had been educated to address had gone for ever: 'I am putting together the rest of my leum in more everyday language; it is not worth embellishing phrases which may never be published.'47 But it is not fair to judge fifth-century style by first-century standards, and more recent commentators on in Roman Latin (not to mention late Roman Greek) have been less quid to condemn the stylistic complexities that were the height of artists chic in the fourth and fifth centuries. 48 An age that can see chain-sawed cows in preservative as art is by definition unlikely to judge other artistic endeavours by rigid universal standards.

In any case, the issue of whether Sidonius wrote 'good' Latin or is beside at a historical not is beside the point, since there is no doubting the historical importance of the point, since there is no doubting the historical importance of the point, since there is no doubting the importance of his oeuvre. The earliest of his extant writings date from the mid-450e ch. the mid-450s, the latest to about 480, but the bulk fall into a twenty year period after the same about 480, but the bulk fall into a grass anyone. year period after 455. He knew pretty much everyone who was anyou south-eastern, Gaul, and the great and the good in his letters, which, unlike those of Symmothern prominently in his letters of policies. especially sourceastern, Gaut, and the great and the good which, unlike those of Symmachus, matters of political substance when among them, hesitate to discuss matters of political substance when among them. is solution in this factors, which, unlike those of Symmachus, prominently in this matters of political substance when approprisport prominently in this matters of political substance when approprisport hesitate to discuss matters of political substance when approprisport hesitate to some of them, are equally important. Sideside poems, or some of them, are equally important. by the poems, or some of them, are equally important. Sidonius was the poems, or some of them, and for emperors to be involved in politics, and for emperors to be involved in politics. this poems, or source in politics, and for emperors to court spiffcant enough to be involved in politics, and for emperors to court spiffcant enough to be was not important enough to be for his support, but he was not important enough to be support. string the enough to but he was not important enough to have to face simple for his support, but he regime collapsed. Recognized as for his support, when their regime collapsed. Recognized as one of the securion when this age, he served a succession of an archive arrives of his age, he served a succession of a succession of a securior arrives a decution when used a succession of emperors who lading stylists of his age, he served a succession of emperors who had his talents as a writer of panegyrics – keypoos leading stylists of the same as a writer of panegyrics – keynote speeches – in the same who have met such texts before and while bew on his talettes — met such texts before, and while they certainly their praise. We have met such texts before, and while they certainly their praise. their praise. We truth as you or I might recognize it, they have the huge don't tell the trace access to the world as particular regimes wished it rifule or giving wished it to be portrayed. Sidonius, like Themistius and Merobaudes before him, was a propagandist.

From Sidonius' account it emerges without a shadow of doubt that Petronius Maximus sent Avitus to the Visigoths to solicit their support for his regime. Sidonius, of course, dressed this bald fact up a little. As he portrays it, the Visigoths, after hearing of the murder of Valentinian II, were preparing to launch a hostile takeover bid for the entire Roman west, when news of the approach of Avitus filled them with sudden panic:49

One of the Goths, who had reforged his pruning-hook and was shaping a sword with blows on the anvil and sharpening it with a stone, a man already prepared to rouse himself to fury at the sound of the trumpet and looking at any moment with manifold slaughter to bury the ground under unburied foes, cried out, as soon as the name of the approaching Avitus was clearly proclaimed: 'War is no more! Give me the plough again!'

You can see why those brought up on the tenets of classical Latin might find Sidonius' verbiage annoying, but the rhetoric is anything but pointless. It gives us a clear picture of his father-in-law as the one man able to dissuade the Visigoths from launching war. The same imaginary Goth goes on to declaim that, far from being mere onlookets, his people will now lend their military assistance to the new regime and precisely because it is sponsored by Avitus: 'Nay, if I have go and precisely because it is sponsored by Avitus: 'Nay, if I have gained a right knowledge of you [Avitus] in action before this, your annual a right knowledge of you [Avitus] in action before this, Your auxiliary trooper will I be; thus at least I shall have permission to fight; up fight. What strikes you here is the exaggerated presentation of Avitus' THE FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

importance. Earlier in the poem, likewise, when talking of Active Without you [Avitus] aled without you [Avitus] aled Without you [Avitus] glorion. importance. Earlier in the poem, make white, when talking of successes of the 430s, Sidonius excels himself: 'He [Aetius] of Aetius he was, did no deed without you [Avitus], although you had doubt performed useful white he was a doubt performed white successes of the 430s, Sidonius excess intribeti. Fie [Aetius] out Aetius arms as he was, did no deed without you [Avitus], although you without him.' Avitus no doubt performed useful service to he without him in the avitice to he arms as he was, did no deed william you travilled, although you will many without him.' Avitus no doubt performed useful service to be no dismussion to the 440s, when many without him.' Avitus no double product useful service to the but Aetius managed perfectly well without him in the 440s, when the can be no disputing that Aetius that Aetius the the terminal out of office. but Aetius managed perrecuy well that Aetius managed perrecuy well but Aetius managed perrecuy well at the 440s, when the latter slipped out of office. There can be no disputing that Aetius well are the slipped out of office.

dominant partner.

But irritation at Sidonius' hyperbole must not distract us from the distract us from the last move as en... But irritation at Suomes Maximus' first move as emperor between the Constantius and Aetius had strained every political. historical significance of recommendations and Aetius had strained every political single Visiooths from increasing their influence within the vision of the Both Flavius Constantius and to prevent the Visigoths from increasing their influence within western Alaric and his brother-in-law Athaulf had how to imperial politics. Alaric and his brother-in-law Athaulf had both had visions, if fleeting, of the Goths as protectors of the western Empire visions, it needing, of the Alaric had offered Honorius a deal whereby he would become senior has Goths be settled not far from a senior general at court, and his Goths be settled not far from Ravena Athaulf married Honorius' sister and named his son Theodosius. But Constantius and Aetius, those guardians of the Western Empire, but resisted such pretensions; they had been willing to employ the Goth as junior allies against the Vandals, Alans and Suevi, but that was a far as it went. Aetius had preferred to pay and deploy Huns to kep the Goths within this very real political boundary rather than gran them a broader role in the business of Empire. Avitus' embassy, which as Sidonius makes clear, sought from the Visigoths not just peaceful acquiescence but a military alliance, reversed at a stroke a policy that had kept the Empire afloat for forty years.

The immediate aftermath only reinforces the point. While Avitus was still with the Visigoths, the Vandals under the leadership of Geiseric launched a naval expedition from North Africa which brough their forces to the outskirts of Rome. In part, its aim was fun and profit, but it also had more substantial motives. As part of the diplomatic horse-trading that had followed the frustration of Activities attempts to reconquer North Africa, Huneric, eldest son of the Vandal king Coloria in the North Africa, Huneric, eldest son of the Vandal king Coloria in the North Africa, Huneric, eldest son of the Vandal king Coloria in the North Africa in the king Geiseric, had been betrothed to Eudocia, daughter of Valentinian Constitution Constitutio III. On seizing power, however, in an attempt to add extra credibing to his named t to his usurping regime, Petronius Maximus married Eudocia to bus own son Dalloding to bus own son bus own son bus own son Dalloding to bus own son Palladius. The Vandal attack on Rome was also made, in outrage at heart 10 pl in outrage at being cheated, as Geiseric saw it, of this chance to the great game of the g the great game of imperial politics. Hearing of the Vandals' and Maximus **Maximus** 

THE FALL OF THE HUNNIC EMPIRE particled, mounted a horse and fled. The imperial bodyguard and around him whom he particularly around him whom he panicked, mounted a round him whom he particularly trusted those free persons and those who saw him leaving abused him, and those who saw him leaving abused him. panular free persons at those who saw him leaving abused him and those him, and those who saw he was about to leave at the desired him for his cowardice. As he was about to leave at described him, and unose who have about to leave the city, described him for his cowardice. As he was about to leave the city, revided him for his rock, hitting him on the temple and being threw a rock, hitting him on the temple and being the city, described him for his cowards was about to leave the city, was about to leave the city, which is the was about to leave the city, was about to leave the city. the cowd fell upon his body, tore it to pieces and with shouts of the character the managed the limbs about on a pole. 50 The crown the limbs about on a pole.50 riumph paraded the limbs about on a pole.50

wended the reign of Petronius Maximus, on 31 May 455; he had been than two and a half months go endea une some of than two and a half months. when the imperial capital was sacked for the second time, the When the was more serious than in 410. Geiseric's Vandals durage sustained and ransacked, taking much treasure and many prisoners back looted and the Carthage, including the widow of Valentinian III, her with them. 3. And Gaudentius, the surviving son of Aetius. 51 Upon hearing this news, Avitus immediately made his own bid for the hrone, declaring himself emperor while still at the Visigothic court in Bordeaux. It was later, on 9 July that year, that his claim was ratified by a group of Gallic aristocrats at Arles, the regional capital. From Arles, not long afterwards, Avitus moved on triumphantly to Rome and began negotiations for recognition with Constantinople. The senior Roman army commanders in Italy - Majorian and Ricimer -

were ready to accept him because they were afraid of the Visigothic military power at his disposal.52 A new order was thus born. Instead of western imperial regimes looking to keep the Visigoths and other immigrants at arm's length, the newcomers had established themselves as part of the western Empire's body politic. For the first time, a Visigothic king had played a key role in deciding the imperial succession.

The full significance of this revolution needs to be underlined. Without the Huns to keep the Goths and other immigrants into the Roman west in check, there was no choice but to embrace them. The Western Empire's military reservoirs were no longer full enough for it to continue to exclude them from central politics. The ambition first thown to exclude them from central politics. shown by Alaric and Athaulf, and later by Geiseric in his desire to marry his son to an imperial princess, had come to fruition. Contemporaries Poraries were fully aware of the political turn-around represented by Avitus' elevation. Since time immemorial, the traditional education had now had portrayed barbarians - including Visigoths - as the 'other', the THE FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

irrational, the uneducated; the destructive force constantly threater Roman allies in south-wave having the large terms of the constantly threater the constant the const irrational, the uneducated; the uestimetre lorge constantly the Roman Empire. In a sense, with the Visigoths now having the generation as minor Roman allies in south-western having the prepared. Nonetheless, Avitus, and Prahamatical Praham the Roman Empire. In a sense, which the Roman Empire. In a sense, which is south the Roman Empire. In a sense, which is south to south the south and had been well prepared. Nonetheless, Avitus, regime to the less bound to the south the the Roman Burpa.

for a generation as minor Roman annes in south-western ving ground had been well prepared. Nonetheless, Avitus' regime well aware that its Visigothic alliance was bound to be the better demonstrated than in the workloom. ground had been well prepared. In one case, Avitus' regime was bound to be was better demonstrated than in the control a letter penned by him from the withing. ground had to well aware that its Visigotine amanded was bound to be was ball. This is nowhere better demonstrated than in the control of the wildless in particular in a letter penned by him from the writing months of court of the writing of the court sial. This is nowhere better delitoristicated than in the working.

Sidonius, in particular in a letter penned by him from the writing of hour of the court of th Sidonius, in particular in a lector in the early months of the count in the early months of Avitus' letters are in no sense private documents. He with the world in the early months of Avitus' letters are in no sense private documents. Sidonius, I. r.

Visigothic king Theoderic II III LII CALLY INDITES OF AVICE OF Sidonius' letters are in no sense private documents. He wrote the wrote them for disseminating a point of them in the wrote the wrote them in the wrote the wrote them in the wrote the wrot Sidonius' letters are in no sense provided by the wrote the wrote the wrote them a point of view and the wrote them a point of view and the wrote them a point of view and the wrote them are the wrote the the expectation that their contents when the expectation of the expectation that their contents when the expectation that the expec

Written to Avitus' son Agricola as a description of life at the Written to Avitus som Agent and Theoderic: 'In his build the sound Nature's plan have joined together to endow him. Wisigothic court, it opens when a point together to endow him will of God and Nature's plan have joined together to endow him with the included the court of the included the a supreme perfection; and his character is such that even the jealous a sovereign has no power to rob it of its glorants. which hedges a sovereign has no power to rob it of its glories; We the kino's day. Having started with a prayrant which hedges a soveres. We then hear about the king's day. Having started with a prayer or the then hear about the king's day. Having started with a prayer or the then hear about the king's day. then hear about the Ring of the hunting and settling cases; then he spends the morning receiving embassies and settling cases; then he hunting at which as in all the hunting. the afternoon, perhaps a little hunting, at which, as in all else, be

When one joins him at dinner . . . there is no unpolished conglom. eration of discoloured old silver set by panting attendants on sagging tables; the weightiest thing on these occasions is the conversation. The viands attract by their skilful cookery, not by their costliness. Replenishment of goblets comes at such long intervals that there is more reason for the thirsty to complain than for the intoxicated to refrain. To sum up: you can find there Greek elegance, Gallic plenty, Italian briskness; the dignity of state, the attentiveness of a private home, the ordered discipline of royalty.54

The letter closes with a little joke at the king's expense. After dinner Theoderic liked to play a game of dice, and would show the proper spirit by protesting if he perceived that his rival was letting him will On the other hand, should you want a favour done, Sidonius noths you were up to. This bit of patronizing aside, Sidonius' message only not be cleaned the not be clearer. Theoderic II was not your run-of-the-mill barbarian

THE FALL OF THE HUNNIC EMPIRE his senses, addicted to alcohol and the next adrenalin rush.

When by his senses, addicted to alcohol and the next adrenalin rush.

When by his senses, addicted to alcohol and the next adrenalin rush.

When by his senses, addicted to alcohol and the next adrenalin rush. his senses, addition and the next adrenalin rush.

his senses, addition in the proper sense, one who had learned for the was, in fact, a who ran his court, his life – indeed him was, and self-discipline, who ran manner. He may and self-discipline hallowed Roman manner. hyen proper sense, one who had learned by was, in fact, a koman manner. He was a man one could the time have no idea what life was a man one could have the time i have no idea what life was a man one could be time. was, and self-discipline, which are time-hallowed Roman manner. He was a man one could do time-hallowed no idea what life was really like at the Visite with I have no idea what life was really like at the Visite with I have no idea what life was really like at the Visite with I have no idea what life was really like at the Visite with I have no idea what life was really like at the Visite with I have no idea what life was really like at the Visite with I have no idea what life was really like at the Visite with I have no idea what life was really like at the Visite with I have no idea what life was really like at the Visite with I have no idea what life was really like at the Visite was a man one could do reson a time-hallowed resonance. The was a man one could do the time-hallowed no idea what life was really like at the Visigothic with I have no idea what life was really like at the Visigothic business with I have association with Theoderic, Theoderic but to justify Avitus' association with Theoderic, Theoderic but to justify Avitus' association with Theoderic but to justify a with the with Theoderic but to justify and the with Theoderic but to justify a with Theoder business with I nave in association with Theoderic, Theoderic had business but to justify Avitus' association with Theoderic, Theoderic had out, aregented as possessing all the virtues, and Sidonius dular regented as possessing all the virtues, and Sidonius dular regented as possessing all the virtues, and Sidonius dular regented as possessing all the virtues, and Sidonius dular regented as possessing all the virtues, and Sidonius dular regented as possessing all the virtues, and Sidonius dular regented as possessing all the virtues, and Sidonius dular regented as possessing all the virtues, and Sidonius dular regented as possessing all the virtues, and Sidonius dular regented as possessing all the virtues, and Sidonius dular regented as possessing all the virtues, and Sidonius dular regented as possessing all the virtues, and Sidonius dular regented as possessing all the virtues, and Sidonius dular regented as possessing all the virtues re but to justify but to oblining presented as possible presented as possible presented was gathering pace. Barbarians were being presented the revolution was gathering pace. Barbarians were being presented the revolution was gathering pace. Barbarians were being presented the revolution was gathering pace. Barbarians were being presented the revolution was gathering pace. the revolution was some inescapable reality that, since they could no some revolution was some inescapable reality that, since they could no he excluded, they now had to be included in the Romans to justify now had to be included in the construction longer be excluded, they now had to be included in the construction longer being political regimes in the west.

longer by political regimes in the west. At first sight, this inclusion of the alien would not seem to be a At first signs, to the integrity of the Empire. Theoderic was Roman mortal blow to the integrity of the saw the pool mortal blow willing to play along; he saw the need to portray him as agood Roman in order to satisfy landowning opinion. There were, a good Roughe of very big catches which made a Romanohowever, military alliance not quite the asset you might initially visigothic military alliance not quite the asset you might initially Visigount Suppose. First, political support always came at a price. Theoderic was supposed was entirely happy to support Avitus' bid for power, but, not unreasonably, he expected something in return. In this instance, his desired reward was a free hand in Spain where, as we have seen, the Suevi had been running riot since Aetius' attention had been turned towards the Danube in the early 440s. Theoderic's request was granted, and he promptly sent a Visigothic army to Spain under the auspices of Avitus' regime, notionally to curb Suevic depredations. Hitherto, of course, when the Visigoths had been deployed in Spain, it was always in conjunction with Roman forces. This time, Theoderic was left to operate essentially on his own initiative, and we have a first-hand -Spanish - description of what happened. The Visigothic army defeated the Suevi, we are told, capturing and executing their king. They also took every opportunity, both during the assault and in the cleaning-up operations that followed, to gather as much booty as they could, sacking and pillaging, amongst others, the towns of Braga, Asturica and Palentia. Not only did the Goths destroy the kingdom of the Suevi, they also helped themselves uninhibitedly to the wealth of Spain. Just like Attila, Theoderic had warriors to satisfy. His willingless to support Avitus was based on calculations of profits, and a lucrative Spanish spree was just the thing.

Second, the inclusion of barbarians into the political game of

regime-building in the Roman west meant that there were proups manoeuvring for position around the imperial to income the imperial to inc regime-building in the Roman west means there were now more groups manoeuvring for position around the imperial to incorporate the imperial to more groups manoeuvring for position around the imperial to satisfy three army groups – two main ones in Italy and continued the imperial to incorporate the satisfy three army groups – two main ones in Italy and continued the imperial to incorporate the satisfy three army groups – two main ones in Italy and continued the imperial to incorporate the satisfy and continued the imperial to incorporate the satisfy three army groups – two main ones in Italy and continued the imperial to incorporate the satisfy three army groups – two main ones in Italy and continued the imperial to incorporate the satisfy three army groups – two main ones in Italy and continued the imperial to incorporate the satisfy three army groups – two main ones in Italy and continued the imperial to incorporate the satisfy three army groups – two main ones in Italy and continued the imperial to incorporate the satisfy three army groups – two main ones in Italy and continued the imperial to incorporate the satisfy three army groups – two main ones in Italy and continued the imperial to incorporate the satisfy three army groups – two main ones in Italy and continued the imperial to incorporate the satisfy three army groups – two main ones in Italy and continued the imperial to incorporate the satisfy three army groups – two main ones in Italy and continued the imperial to incorporate the satisfy three army groups – two main ones in Italy and continued the imperial to incorporate the satisfy three army groups – two main ones in Italy and continued the imperial to incorporate the satisfy three army groups – two main ones in Italy and continued the imperial to incorporate the satisfy three army groups – two main ones in Italy and continued the incorporate the satisfy three army groups – two main ones in Italy and continued the satisfy three army groups – two main ones in Italy and continued the satisfy three army groups – two main ones in Italy and continued the satisfy three army groups – two main ones in Italy and continued the satisfy three army Before 450, any functioning western read to incorporate to broadly satisfy three army groups – two main ones in Italy on the landed aristocracies of Italy and the imperial L. ... Posts in the imperial L. ... broadly satisfy three army groups and a lesser one in Illyricum – plus the landed aristocracies in Italy and and a lesser one in Illyricum – plus the landed aristocracies of Italy and to be accommodated bureaucracy and to be accommodated. and a lesser one in Illyricum – pross in the imperial bureaucracies of Italy of Constantinople also had to be accommodated. As in the Gaul, who occupied the key pool desires of Constantinople also had to be accommodated. As in the constantinian III, should western forces be divided between diff. desires of Constantinople also have desired between different eastern emperors disposed of enough clout and brute for of Valentinian III, should western emperors disposed of enough clout and brute for their own candidate. Though too far away to rule the candidates, eastern emperors and too far away to rule the me to impose their own candidates. Incorporating this many interest. directly, Constantinopie could of the other interested parties. Incorporating this many interests only interest make arriving at a stable outcome a long-drawn-out business.

AFTER THE COLLAPSE of the Hunnic Empire, the Burgundians and the start inckeving for position and the Vandals were the next to start jockeying for position and clamounts bad been settled by Aerine and the state of the settled by Aerine and the settle for rewards. The Burgundians had been settled by Aetius around lake Geneva in the mid-430s. Twenty years later, they took advantage of the new balance of power in the west to acquire a number of other Roman cities and the revenues they brought with them from the territories in the Rhône valley: Besançon, le Valais, Grenoble, Autun Chalon-sur-Saône and Lyon.56 The Vandal-Alan coalition's sack of Rome in 455, as we have seen, betrayed a desire to participate in imperial politics. On the death of Valentinian, Victor of Vita tells us Geiseric too, expanding his powerbase, seized control of Tripolium, Numidia and Mauretania, together with Sicily, Corsica and the Balear ics. Allowing just some of the barbarian powers to participate in the Empire massively complicated western politics; and the greater the number, the harder it was to find sufficient rewards to generate long term coalition.

A strong sense of the underlying tensions that made the regime of Avitus essentially unstable emerges from the second of Sidonius poems to survive from this period. On 1 January 456, when the emperor assumed the consulship in Rome, his ever loyal son-in-law was called upon to make the consulship in Rome, his ever loyal son-in-law was called upon to make the consulship in Rome, his ever loyal son-in-law was called upon to make the consulship in Rome, his ever loyal son-in-law was called upon to make the consulship in Rome, his ever loyal son-in-law was called upon to make the consulship in Rome, his ever loyal son-in-law was called upon to make the consulship in Rome, his ever loyal son-in-law was called upon to make the consulship in Rome, his ever loyal son-in-law was called upon to make the consulship in Rome, his ever loyal son-in-law was called upon to make the consulship in Rome, his ever loyal son-in-law was called upon to make the consulship in Rome, his ever loyal son-in-law was called upon to make the consulship in Rome, his ever loyal son-in-law was called upon to make the consulship in Rome, his ever loyal son-in-law was called upon to make the consulship in Rome, his ever loyal son-in-law was called upon to make the consulship in Rome. upon to make a speech on his behalf. It began, not surprisingly, establishing the establishing the emperor's overwhelming suitability for office. In down so, Sidonius took the opportunity to make some pointed comparison.

In particular he disconnection to make some pointed comparison. In particular, he dismissed Valentinian III as a 'mad eunuch' (amens), and conserved valentinian III as a 'mad eunuch' (amens). amens), and contrasted his style of leadership with the military

THE FALL OF THE HUNNIC EMPIRE brought to the job. Turning to the key issue with the king of the Visigoths, Sidonius has " phitical skills that Avitus with the king of the Visigoths, Sidonius handled with relationship with subject with subtlety, but his intent with subtlety with subtlety with subtlety with subtlety. philital relationship with the subject with subtlety, but his intent was clear of Avitus potentially explosive with vigour that Avitus had never have potentially priest, he argued with vigour that Avitus had never have potentially priest, he argued with vigour that Avitus had never have potentially priest, he argued with vigour that Avitus had never have priested to the visitorship course the visitorship course the visitorship course the visitorship course the visitorship with the visitorship course the visitorship course the visitorship with the vi of April subject visits subject, but his intent was clear been one potentially explosive with vigour that Avitus had never been one proof pirst, he argued with vigour. He had been there as a vous of the visigothic court. He had been there as a vous of the visigothic court. by Pirst, he argued the visigothic court. He had been there as a young man, of the visigothic limit in the 420s, when '[the Visigothic bind' of the vi erous up to the visigothic 420s, when '[the Visigothic king] desired no cosy up to knew, in the 420s, when '[the Visigothic king] desired a everyone knew, in the 420s, as one of his own him was a some of him was a some of him was a some of his own him was a some of his own him was a some of him was a everyone knew, in [Avitus] as one of his own, but you scorned of the friend rather than the Roman.'s Sidonius than the friend rather than the roman.'s Sidonius than the scorned of the friend rather than the Roman.'s Sidonius than the scorned of the friend rather than the Roman.'s Sidonius than the scorned of the friend rather than the Roman.'s Sidonius than the scorned of the sc occedingly to mave the friend rather than the Roman.'58 Sidonius then focused on the friend rather than the 430s when Avitus took a family incident in the 430s when A the menu ratio the 430s when Avitus took a terrible revenge on small incident in the 430s who had wounded one of the marauding Visigoth who had wounded one small including Visigoth who had wounded one of his servants:

When first they approached, breast to breast and face to face, the When nist and shook with anger, the other [the Goth] with fear ... one printing, when the first bout, the second, the third have been fought, But when the upraised spear comes and pierces the man of blood; his see! The upraised spear comes and pierces the man of blood; his breast was transfixed and his corselet twice split, giving way even where it covered the back; and as the blood came throbbing through the two gaps the separate wounds took away the life that each of them might claim.

Translated into English (or even into Latin), Sidonius is saying that Avitus found the Visigothic bastard who'd hurt his man, and ran him so far through with his spear that it came out the other side. Translated into politico-speak, the message is that Avitus was no Visigoth-loving traitor but a true Roman who had given the barbarians as hard a kicking as even the fiercest hawk could desire.

All of this was addressed to the suspicions of Sidonius' audience of Italo-Roman senators and generals, as was, above all, his account of the new emperor's elevation. On hearing of the deaths of Aetius and Valentinian, the Visigoths had begun to plan their own wars of conquest. 59 Then into the Visigothic camp strode Avitus, and everything changed. By his presence alone he spread panic among them, and such was their fear of him that the Visigoths' immediate impulse Was to try to please him by engaging in a military alliance. But whether Avitus should declare himself emperor was his decision alone. As for the Visigothic king, Sidonius has him say:

We do not force [the purple] on you, but we do beg you; with You as leader I am a friend of Rome, with you as emperor I am her soldier. You are not stealing the sovereignty from any man; no Augustus holds the Latian hills, a palace without a master with to do, the world would for the world world for the world world for the world world for the world world world for the world world world for the world world world world for the world world world world for the world wo yours ... My part is only to serve you; but if Gaul should force she has the right to do, the world would love would love to yours ... My part is only to see you, out it Gaul should should be would love you, as she has the right to do, the world would should love you.

We see from this special pleading, and the allusion to the sidonius was now all sensitivities. We see from this special preasure, allusion to the vacuum in Italy, exactly where the audience's political sensitivities in the Italians, the audience Sidonius was now addressing. vacuum in Italy, exactly where the vacuum in Italy, To the Italians, the audience of the Visigoths after the pattern of the speech respondent might appear no more than a consider the patent of Priscus Attalus under Alaric and Athaulf. The speech responded to look at the patent of the of Priscus Attalus under the priscus attalus insisting that Avitus was the only man who look at the only man who because he was the way the purple, if unwillingly, because he was the only man who continues, the barbon to their obedience. In these straitened times, the barbon to the military power was necessary to the safety of the Empire, but Avin

It was a good try. And so much for the claim that Sidonius lade ideas. But the Italian audience, particularly the army men among them, were having none of it. The sources insist, as we have the that the Roman army of Italy only ever tolerated Avitus because he had the military backing of the Visigoths. When, in 456, the Visigoth became too deeply embroiled in Spain to intervene any further in lab. the two main Roman commanders, Majorian and Ricimer, withdre their allegiance. On 17 October that year they gave battle to the in forces Avitus could scrape together - presumably remnants of the Roman field army of Gaul - outside the city of Placentia in northern Italy. Avitus was beaten, forced to become the city's bishop, and det shortly afterwards in mysterious circumstances.60

We see here, then, in a nutshell the problem now facing the wat Avitus had the support of the Visigoths, the support of at least some Gallic senators, and of some of the Roman army of Gaul. But find with the hostility of the Italian senators, and especially of the community of the communit manders of the Italian field army, the coalition didn't stand a change By the early 460s, the extent of the crisis in the west generated by collapse of Attila's Empire was clear. There were too many interest parties and not enough rewards to go round. Constantinople, howers, had decided on one last throw of the dice.

50 HISTORIANS HAVE CRITICIZED Constantinople for not doing in the fifth century to save the embattled west Brown MISTORIANS to save the embattled west. From the Notitia more in the fifth century to save that the east's armies and the Notitia more in the num (see p. 246) we know that the east's armies recovered from population (see p. 246) by the end of the fourth Dignilatium (See P. armes recovered from to comprise, by the end of the fourth century, a field that a segments distributed between four manifestrations armes recovered from Hadrianople to distributed between four regional commands: amy of 191 regional commands:

one on the Persian front, one in Thrace, and two central, 'praesental' on the Latin for 'stationed in the imperial presence'). Its amies (Hollis presence). Its mobile forces, therefore, mustered between 65,000 and 100,000 men.<sup>1</sup> Also, the east disposed of numerous units of frontier garrison troops Also, the last twenty years (fimitantel). The archaeological field surveys of the last twenty years have confirmed, furthermore, that the fourth-century agricultural prospenty of the east's key provinces - Asia Minor, the Middle East and Egypt - showed no sign of slackening during the fifth. Some believe that the eastern Empire thus had the wherewithal to intervene effectively in the west, but chose not to. In the most radical statement of the case, it has been argued that Constantinople was happy to see barbarians settle on western territory for the disabling effect this had on the west's military establishment because it removed any possibility of an ambitious western pretender seeking to unseat his eastern counterpart and unite the Empire. This had happened periodically in the fourth century, when the emperors Constantine and Julian took over the entire Empire from an originally western power-base.2 But in fact, bearing in mind the problems it had to deal with on its own frontiers, Constantinople's record for supplying aid to the west in the fifth century is perfectly respectable.

## Constantinople and the West

THE BASTERN Empire's military establishment was very substantial, but large ammitted to the two but large numbers of troops had always to be committed to the two key sectors of its eastern frontier in Armenia and Mesopotamia to imperial security lay, the analy Roman key sectors of its eastern frontier in Alline and Mesopotamia and Mesopotamia and Mesopotamia threat to imperial security lay, the answer larger its new Sasanian rulers. And from the section when Rome confronted Persia. It you asked any lourth century when the main threat to imperial security lay, the entury when heen Persia under its new Sasanian rulers. And from the the the where the main threat to imperior where the answer when the Sasanian revolution worked its magic, person the think the same where the main threat to imperior was a same where the main threat to imperior was a same where the main threat to imperior was a same where the main threat to imperior was a same where the main threat to imperior was a same where the main threat to imperior was a same where the main threat to imperior was a same where the main threat to imperior was a same where the main threat to imperior was a same where the main threat to imperior was a same where the main threat to imperior was a same where the main threat to imperior was a same where the main threat to imperior was a same where the main threat thr have been Persia under its new Sasanian revolution worked its magic, persia the second great superpower of the ancient world. As we have the Sasanian revolution worked its magic, persia the second great superpower of the second great superpower of the sasanian world. As we have the Sasanian revolution worked its magic, persia the second great superpower of the sasanian world. As we have the sasanian revolution worked its magic, persia the second great superpower of the sasanian revolution worked its magic, persia the second great superpower of the sasanian revolution worked its magic, persia the second great superpower of the sasanian revolution worked its magic, persia the second great superpower of the sasanian revolution worked its magic, persia the second great superpower of the sasanian revolution worked its magic, persia the second great superpower of the sasanian revolution worked its magic, persia the second great superpower of the sasanian revolution worked its magic, persia the second great superpower of the sasanian revolution worked its magic persia the second great superpower of the sasanian revolution worked its magic persia the second great superpower of the sasanian revolution worked its magic persia the second great superpower of the sasanian revolution worked its magic persia the second great superpower of the sasanian revolution worked its magic persia the second great superpower of the sasanian revolution worked its magic persia the second great superpower of the sasanian revolution worked its magic persia the second great superpower of the sasanian revolution worked its magic persia the second great superpower of the sasanian revolution worked its magic persia the second great superpower of the sasanian revolution worked its magic persia the second great superpower of the sasanian revolution worked its magic persia the second great superpower of the sasanian revolution worked its magic persia the second great superpower of the sasanian revolution worked its magic persia the second great sup century, when the Sasanian revolution worked its magic, put the indeed the second great superpower of the ancient world. As we have second great superpower of the ancient world. As we have second great superpower of the ancient world. As we have second great superpower of the ancient world. As we have second great superpower of the ancient world. As we have second great superpower of the ancient world. As we have second great superpower of the ancient world. As we have second great superpower of the ancient world. indeed the second great superposed by the Sasanians plunged the lasted the best that lasted the best the best that lasted the best that earlier, the new military time at Posses of the oasanians plumer in the 280s, the Empire in the Em Roman Empire into a minuary and an interest lasted the best part of fifty years. By the time of Diocletian in the 280s, the Empire had the necessary funding and manpower, but the process had been part of the process of fifty years. By the time of the management of the undisputed power of its eastern neighbour was of the undisputed power mobilized the necessary running adjustment to the undisputed power of its eastern neighbour was long or less unavoidable. adjustment to the uncuspance random made it more or less unavoidable and painful. The rise of Persia also made it more or less unavoidable in the east, and hence made in the made in the east, and hence made in the east in the east, and hence made in the east, and hence made in the east in to have one emperor constantly in the east, and hence made power. sharing a feature of the imperial office in the late Roman period As a sharing to hold ite on the late Roman period As a sharing a feature of the imperial office in the late Roman period As a sharing a feature of the imperial office in the late Roman period As a sharing a feature of the imperial office in the late Roman period As a sharing a feature of the imperial office in the late Roman period As a sharing a feature of the imperial office in the late Roman period As a sharing a feature of the imperial office in the late Roman period As a sharing a feature of the imperial office in the late Roman period As a sharing a feature of the imperial office in the late Roman period As a sharing a feature of the imperial office in the late Roman period As a sharing a feature of the imperial office in the late Roman period As a sharing a feature of the imperiod As a sharin sharing a teature of the transformations, Rome began to hold its own agent to such third-century repeats of such third-century and there were no fourth-century repeats of such third-century dis

When assessing the military contribution of the eastern  $E_{mpire_{\mathfrak{V}}}$ the west in the fifth century, it is important to appreciate that, while broadly contained from about 300, the new Persian threat never disappeared. Even if there was less fighting - and what fighting there was largely confined itself to a wearying round of sieges and limited gains - the Sasanians maintained a constant presence in the strategic thinking of east Roman politicians and generals. Faced with the defeat of Julian's Persian expedition in 363, then the longer-term effects of the Hun-inspired mayhem on the Danube in the mid-370s, successive Roman emperors had been forced on two occasions to grant Sasanian rulers peace treaties they would normally only have dreamt about Following Julian's defeat, the emperor Jovian made humiliating concessions of territory and bases in Mesopotamia. Valens made some preliminary noises, even moves, towards their recovery, but after his death at Hadrianople Theodosius not only confirmed Roman acceptance of the design of t tance of these losses, but also did a deal over Armenia, the other great

bone of contention – and again, massively in Persia's favour (map 3).

These contention – and again, massively in Persia's favour (map 3). These concessions ushered in a relatively peaceful phase in Roman largely Persian relations, as Sasanian aspirations were, for the moment, largely satisfied satisfied. Anyway, Persia was facing nomad-inspired troubles of its own in two northerns. in two northern frontier sectors: to the east in Transoxania (modern Uzbekistan) and troop had Uzbekistan), and in the Caucasus, in which Constantinople, too, had

Routes through the Caucasus led into Roman territory, if one carried straight, and into Persian territory, if one carried straight, both. The great Humain both. Routes through the Caucasus led into Roman territory, if one carried straight on.

The great Hunnic raid of 395 were a provinces south the Huns of the Rome's provinces south the Huns of of the Black Sea has only in large area of the Dominion on the of the had done provinces south of the Black Sea but also the huns only large area of the Persian Empire. So, in the hung surprisingly large area of the Persian Empire. the rive only in Rome's Provinces south of the Black Sea but also have not only large area of the Persian Empire. So, in this new both surprisingly when both Empires had Huns on their of compromise when both Empires had Huns on their when both Empires had Huns on their minds, of compromise when both agreement for mutual deferming to an unprecedented agreement for mutual deferming to an unprecedented agreement for mutual deferming to the came to an unprecedented agreement for mutual deferming the came to an unprecedented agreement for mutual deferming the came to an unprecedent for mutual defer of compromise with an unprecedented agreement for mutual defence. The dry came to an unprecedented agreement her came to an unprecedented agreement for mutual defence. The would fortify and garrison the key Darial Page the standard would fortify and garrison the key Darial Page the standard would fortify and garrison the key Darial Page the standard would fortify and garrison the key Darial Page the standard would fortify and garrison the key Darial Page the standard would fortify and garrison the key Darial Page the standard would fortify and garrison the key Darial Page the standard would fortify and garrison the key Darial Page the standard would fortify and garrison the key Darial Page the standard would fortify and garrison the key Darial Page the standard would fortify and garrison the key Darial Page the standard would fortify and garrison the key Darial Page the standard would fortify and garrison the key Darial Page the standard would fortify and garrison the key Darial Page the standard would fortify and garrison the key Darial Page the standard would fortify and garrison the key Darial Page the standard would fortify and garrison the standard would fortify and garrison the standard would fortify and garrison the standard would fortify the standard would be standard would would fortify the standard would be standard would be standard would would would be standard would would be standard would would be standard would be standard would would be standard would would be standard would would be standard would be standard would be standard would would be standard would be standard would would be standard would be standard would be stand or came to an unique and garrison the key Darial Pass through the persians would fortify and would help defray the costs of the Romans would help defray the Romans would help defr Persians would help defray the costs. So tranquil coucasus, and the Romans at this time, in fact that the poman-persian relations at this time, in fact that the poman-persian relations at the poman-persian relations at this time, in fact that the poman-persian relations at this time, in fact that the poman-persian relations at this time, in fact that the poman-persian relations at this time, in fact that the poman persian relations at this time, in fact that the poman persian relations at this time, in fact that the poman persian relations at this time, in fact that the poman persian relations at this time, in fact that the poman persian relations at this time, in fact that the poman persian persian persian relations at this time, in fact that the poman persian pe Caucasus, and the Caucasus, and the Caucasus, and the costs. So tranquil of the Roman-Persian relations at this time, in fact, that the myth arose of the persian Shah had adopted Theodosius II as all the persian Shah had adopted Theodosius II as the Persian Shah had adopted Theodosius II, at the request of his the remperor Arcadius. so as to smooth the latest of his other the emperor Arcadius. the father the emperor Arcadius, so as to smooth the boy's accession have the was only six when his father died. the throne (he was only six when his father died).

None of this meant, however, that Constantinople could afford to Notice of the fifth lower its guard. Troop numbers were perhaps reduced in the fifth lower to be be less was spent on fortifications, but major forces still had to be kept on the eastern frontier. The Notitia Dignitatum - whose eastern sections date from about 395, after the Armenian accord - lists a field army of thirty-one regiments, roughly one-quarter of the whole, based in the east, together with 156 units of frontier garrison troops stationed in Armenia and the provinces comprising the Mesopotamian front, out of a total of 305 such units for the entire eastern Empire. And this in an era of relative stability. There were occasional quarrels with Persia, which sometimes came to blows, as in 421 and 441. The only reason the Persians didn't capitalize more on Constantinople's run in with the Huns in the 440s seems to have been their own nomad problems.4

Just as, for Rome, Persia was the great enemy, so Rome was for Persia, and each particularly prized victories over the other. As we noted earlier, the provinces from Egypt to western Asia Minor were the eastern Empire's main source of revenue, and no emperor could afford to take chances with the region's security. As a result, Constanting tinople had to keep upwards of 40 per cent of its military committed to the Persian frontier, and another 92 units of garrison troops for the defence of Egypt and Libya. The only forces the eastern authorities could even think of using in the west were the one-sixth of its garrison troops stationed in the Balkans and the three-quarters of its field forces mustered in the Thracian and the two praesental armies.

Up until 450, Constantinople's capacity to help the west was also

deeply affected by the fact that it bore the brunt of Hunnic horizontal as 408 (see p. 196), Uldin had briefly seized the east Rope.

Appearing in Dacia Ripensis, and by 413 at Rope. deeply affected by the fact that it bole the brunt of Hunnic hours of Castra Martis in Dacia Ripensis, and by 413 the east Ronal enough to initiate a programme the east Ronal the east Ro As early as 408 (see p. 196), Ultima in Dacia Ripensis, and by 413 the early horities felt threatened enough to initiate a programme for the Danubes and to consecution to the Danubes and the Danubes and the Danubes and the Danubes are the Danubes and the Danubes and the Danubes are the Danubes and the Danubes are the Danubes and the Danubes are the Danubes are the Danubes and the Danubes are the Danubes are the Danubes and the Danubes are the As earry —
fortress of Castra Martis in Dalla 10 political, and by 413 the state authorities felt threatened enough to initiate a programme for the Danubes and to construct the base of the Danubes are constructed to authorities felt threatened enough to militare a programme for taken ing their riverine defences on the Danubes and to construct the first in attempte to like the like the like to the li ing their riverine defences on the Daniel to Construct the landwalls around Constantinople (see p. 203). Then, just a few years a season forces engaged directly in attempts to limit the landwalls around constant the landwalls around constant the landwalls. landwalls around Constantinopie (SC P. 203). Then, just a few year later, eastern forces engaged directly in attempts to limit the growth mounted a major experience. later, eastern forces engaged and the state of Hunnic power. Probably in 421, they mounted a major expedition of Hunnic power which was already, if temporarily, in Hunnic to the state of of Hunnic power. Productly in Tank, in the Huns' control and removal a large group of Goths from the Huns' control and removal extracted a large group of Goths from the Huns' control and resented hands. The next two decades extracted a large group of Godal Throng and resemble them in east Roman territory, in Thrace. The next two decades were the ambitions of Attila and his uncle, and even were them in east Roman territory, in the land to the ambitions of Attila and his uncle, and even after the again fell to the east Roman authorities to also Attila's death it again fell to the east Roman authorities to dean to the Hunnic Empire. As me the wreck of the Hunnic Empire. As m. The second to the Hunnic Empire. Attila's death it again to the wreck of the Hunnic Empire. As we saw the eastern Empire that the remaining in Chapter 8, it was the eastern Empire that the remaining soms of the later 460s. Slightly earlier in the later 460s. Attila chose to invade in the later 460s. Slightly earlier in the decade east Roman forces had also been in action against armed fragments of Attila's disintegrating war machine, led by Hormidac and Bigelis in 460, likewise, the Amal-led Goths in Pannonia had invaded the eastern Empire to extract their 300 pounds of gold (see p. 368).7

Judged against this strategic background, where military commitments could not be reduced on the Persian front, and where, thanks to the Huns, the Danube frontier required a greater share of resources than ever before, Constantinople's record in providing assistance to the west in the fifth century looks perfectly respectable. Although in the throes of fending off Uldin, Constantinople had sent troops to Honorius in 410, when Alaric had taken Rome and was threatening North Africa. Six units in all, numbering 4,000 men, arrived at a critical moment, putting new fight into Honorius when flight, or sharing power with usurpers, was on the cards. The force was enough to secure Ravenna, whose garrison was becoming mutinous, and bought enough time for the emperor to be rescued.8 In 425, likewise, Constantinople had tinople had committed its praesental troops in large numbers to the task of accelling task of establishing Valentinian III on the throne, and in the 430s Aspar the general Ladian Valentinian III on the throne, and in the 430s Aspar the general had done enough in North Africa to prompt Geiseric to negotiate the General had done enough in North Africa to prompt Geiseric to negotiate the first treaty, of 435, which denied him the conquest of Carthage and all again, the Carthage and the richest provinces of the region. In 440/1, again, the east had committee the region of the region of the region. east had committed so many of its Danubian and praesental troops to the projected again and praesental troops to the region. the projected east-west expedition to Africa, that the bureaucrat who

organized it received a mention in despatches and Attila and Bleda opportunity to unleash their armies of the mention in despatches and Attila and Bleda opportunity to unleash their armies of the mention in despatches and Attila and Bleda opportunity to unleash their armies of the mention in despatches and Attila and Bleda opportunity to unleash their armies of the mention in despatches and Attila and Bleda opportunity to unleash their armies of the mention in despatches and Attila and Bleda opportunity to unleash their armies of the mention in despatches and Attila and Bleda opportunity to unleash their armies of the mention opportunity to unleash the mention opportunity to unleash the mention of the mention opportunity to unleash the mention opportunity to unleash the mention of the mention opportunity to unleash the mention of the mention opportunity to unleash the mention opportunity to the mention opportunity to the mention opportunity th ognized it received a month of the state of

hthough, as we saw in Chapter 7, Attila granted the eastern are extraordinarily generous treaty in 450, the east did Although, as we are granted the eastern Although, as we granted the eastern granted the east did not even grante an extraordinarily generous treaty in 450, the east did not even grante an extraordinarily generous treaty in 450, the east did not even grante at its duty to fellow Romans. Troops — we say that the eastern granted the east did not even grante pripie an extraordinate to fellow Romans. Troops – we are not told then baulk at its duty to Aetius to assist him in harassim at ben baulk at its were sent to Aetius to assist him in harassing the Hunnic bow many were sent to northern Italy in 452. While at the sent to Aetius to assist him in harassing the Hunnic weeping through northern Italy in 452. how many - were through northern Italy in 452, while other eastern smies sweeping through success in attacking Linear chieved considerable success in attacking Linear chieves at the chieve at the chieves at the chieve at the chie ornies sweeping of an eastern store all the record all the record of an eastern store forces acriteved normal forces acriteved normal and selection of the record of an eastern state that had no interest in the selection of the s This is not the west. Nor is there the slightest sign that Constantinople sustaining the west. Nor is there the slightest sign that Constantinople bid willed the barbarians to settle on western soil so as to weaken the had wince as weaken the western emperors – not even, as used to be thought, to power to transfer his Goths from the Balkans the extent of encouraging Alaric to transfer his Goths from the Balkans to Italy in 408. As Edward Thompson noted, choosing to fight and uke what reprisals might come their way in 451/2, rather than gabbing Attila's generous peace and running, was a sign of real commitment on the part of Constantinople.10

Of course, in Constantinople emperors and - in particular imperial advisers came and went, and policies towards the west varied. As mentioned earlier, up to the death of Theodosius II in July 450, commitment to the west derived partly from the fact that eastern and western emperors belonged to the same Theodosian house. In sustaining his cousin Valentinian, therefore, Theodosius was also stressing his own family's credentials for rule. And the largest single eastern expeditionary force of the period was sent west in 425 for a Roman dvil war to put Valentinian III on the throne. But the catalogue of eastern assistance to the west cannot be reduced to mere dynastic selfinterest. Help continued to be given after Theodosius' death, not least when Attila was attacking Italy in 452. Equally important, this aid list is compiled from a miscellany of sources and is unlikely to be exhaustive. In particular, I suspect that regular financial assistance was sent west during these years, in addition to the periodic offerings of military manpower. Thus, the decision of the authorities in Constantinople to mount a major rescue bid on the west's behalf in the 460s was no sudden aberration from the norm.

# Regime Change, Anthemius and North Africa

THE MOST OBVIOUS problem racing the round west round about was a crisis of succession; since the death of Attila in 453 about the little continuity. Valentinian III had been cut down by Aen. was a crisis of succession; since the was a crisis of succession; sinc been little continuity. Valentinal l bodyguards, egged on by Petronius, who seized the networks are the state of the seized the state of the state of the seized the state of the state of the state of the state of the seized the state of but in no time at all was militaria afterwards, Avitus had appointed himself emperor in collusion with landowning with afterwards, Avitus had appointed the Visigoths and elements of the Gallo-Roman landowning and the Visigoths are came his ousting in 456 by Richard Street, as a stablishments. the Visigoths and elements. Then came his ousting in 456 by Ricing and commanders of the Italian field forces. This arms military establishments. The latest and Majorian, commanders of the Italian field forces. This army was powerful military-cum-political force in the latest and the latest army was a single most powerful military-cum-political force in the latest army was a single most powerful military-cum-political force in the latest army was a single most powerful military-cum-political force in the latest army was a single most powerful military-cum-political force in the latest army was a single most powerful military-cum-political force in the latest army was a single most powerful military-cum-political force in the latest army was a single most powerful military-cum-political force in the latest army was a single most powerful military-cum-political force in the latest army was a single most powerful military-cum-political force in the latest army was a single most powerful military-cum-political force in the latest army was a single most powerful military-cum-political force in the latest army was a single most powerful military-cum-political force in the latest army was a single most powerful military-cum-political force in the latest army was a single most powerful military-cum-political force in the latest army was a single most powerful military-cum-political force in the latest army was a single most powerful military-cum-political force in the latest army was a single most powerful military-cum-political force in the latest army was a single most powerful military-cum-political force in the latest army was a single most powerful military-cum-political force in the latest army was a single most powerful military-cum-political force in the latest army was a single most powerful military-cum-political force in the latest army was a single most powerful military-cum-political force in the latest army was a single most powerful military-cum-political force in the latest army was a single most powerful military-cum-political force in the latest army was a single most powerful military-cum-political force in the latest and Majorian, commanders of the single most powerful military-cum-political force in the single and the two commanders would play a central kinn the Roman west, and the two commanders would play a central kingnak.

Of the two, Ricimer is a particularly fascinating character. His grandfather was the Visigothic king Vallia who had negotiated with Flavius Constantius in 416, and on his mother's side he was descended from a princess of the Suevi. His sister married into the Burgundian royal house. Thus, in his family connections Ricimer reflects the revolutions that had recently brought so many autonomous groups of outsiders on to Roman soil. His career, however, was purely Roman and purely military, first reaching prominence under Aetius. Some have sought anti-Roman, pro-barbarian leanings in his policies, but none is apparent. Like Aetius and Stilicho, he was ready, when necessary, to make alliances with the new barbarian powers established in the west, but there is no sign that his genetic inheritance predisposed him to favour them at the expense of the central Roman authorities in fact, quite the opposite. He was very much the heir of Stilicho: well-connected barbarian proud to follow a Roman career, and who showed impeccable loyalty to the imperial ideal. Majorian too had served under Aetius, but, unlike Ricimer, was of a solidly Roman military family. His paternal grandfather had been a senior general in the 370s. the 370s, and his father an important bureaucrat under Aetius; Majorian himself ian himself had eventually fallen out with Aetius, but Valentinian recalled him after the generalissimo's murder.11

Hostility to Avitus made allies out of Ricimer and Majorian but, having removed him, they weren't quite sure what to do next. The result was an including the two result was an interregnum of several months. Eventually, the two Majorian emperor, and his installation was celebrated make Majorian emperor, and his installation was celebrated to make Majorian emperor, and his installation was celebrated to make Majorian emperor, and his installation was celebrated to make Majorian emperor, and his installation was celebrated to make Majorian emperor, and his installation was celebrated to make Majorian emperor, and his installation was celebrated to make Majorian emperor, and his installation was celebrated to make Majorian emperor, and his installation was celebrated to make Majorian to the west's majorian emperor. make Majurasian initial successes, the new regime failed to the west's problems, and Picin Japan April 457. Despite solution to the west's problems, and Picin 1 April 457. Despite solution to the west's problems, and Picin 1 April 457. Despite solution to the west's problems, and Picin 1 April 457. Despite solution to the west's problems, and Picin 1 April 457. Despite solution to the west's problems, and Picin 1 April 457. Despite solution to the west's problems, and Picin 1 April 457. Despite solution to the west's problems, and Picin 1 April 457. Despite solution to the west's problems, and Picin 1 April 457. Despite solution to the west's problems, and Picin 1 April 457. Despite solution to the west's problems, and Picin 1 April 457. Despite solution to the west's problems, and Picin 1 April 457. Despite solution to the west's problems, and Picin 1 April 457. Despite solution to the west's problems, and Picin 1 April 457. Despite solution to the west's problems, and Picin 1 April 457. Despite solution to the west's problems, and Picin 1 April 457. Despite solution to the west's problems, and Picin 1 April 457. Despite solution to the west's problems, and Picin 1 April 457. Despite solution to the west's problems, and Picin 1 April 457. Despite solution to the west's problems, and the picin 1 April 457. Despite solution to the west's problems and the picin 1 April 457. Despite solution to the west's problems and the picin 1 April 457. Despite solution to the west's problems and the picin 1 April 457. Despite solution to the west's problems and the picin 1 April 457. Despite solution to the west's problems and the picin 1 April 457. Despite solution to the west's problems and the picin 1 April 457. Despite solution to the picin 1 April 457. Despite solutio between 457. Despite solution to the west's problems, and Ricimer and definitive solution to the West's problems, and Ricimer and definitive solution and definitive solution and definitive solution and definitive solution and definitive solutions. definitive solutions and Ricimer and definitive solutions are deposed, and executed five days later that his partner in crime deposed, and executed five days later to the partner in crime deposed. who eventually deposed, and executed five days later. He then somet parmer in crime deposed Libius Severus to act as L. former partner in considering senator called Libius Severus to act as his new more man. On 19 November after another interregnum called Libius Severus to act as his new more man. On 19 November after another interregnum called Libius Severus to act as his new more man. oned to an elucity of the purple. However, he was not well received at for man. On the purple. However, he was not well received elsewhere in more in particular, the commanders of what remained to particular, the commanders of what remained to the purple. rised to the purpose, the commanders of what remained of the Gallic be west in particular, the commanders and Marcellinus be west. In passed armies, Aegidius and Marcellinus, were disgruntled and llyrian field armies,

The death of Valentinian III thus unleashed one of those bouts of potracted instability that were inherent to the Roman political system. protest with nothing less than anarchy, Constantinople did what it could promote stability. In the case of Avitus, the eastern emperor Marcian bad refused to grant recognition, but negotiations with Constantinople over the accession of Majorian were eventually successful. After his mital installation, he was proclaimed emperor a second time on 28 December 457, quite probably on the receipt of recognition granted by Marcian's successor Leo I. That Majorian's regime had been recognized reflected the fact that it was much more broadly supported than that of Avitus. The same was not true, however, of Libius Severus - this time Leo would not play ball, and Severus remained resolutely unrecognized in Constantinople for the rest of his life.

As western regimes came and went, then, eastern emperors tried, it seems, to identify and support those with some real hope of generating stability. It was to preserve his position in Italy that Ricimer had appointed the harmless Severus. But as Aetius had shown, political longevity was inseparable from military success, and Ricimer also needed to defend Italy effectively, as well as the rest of the Roman west. For both of these objectives recognition and assistance from Constantinople were vital. Once it became clear that Severus was unacceptable to Leo - not least because of the opposition he had triggered in Aegidius and Marcellinus - he became an obstacle to Ricimer's policies. Severus eventually died at a suspiciously convenient moment, in November 465. One early sixth-century source suggests that he was poisoned, while Sidonius goes out of his way to stress that he had died by natural causes. The comment stands out so starkly in the middle of a passage devoted to other matters that it really does

look like a case of protesting too much. Whatever the truth of the morning recognition did nothing to the truth of the morning recognition did nothing recognition did nothing the morning recognition did nothing recognition

tter, with Severus dead, negotiation did nothing to address the Roman the Roman the But granting or withholding to address the second and much more fundamental problem facing the Roman were in Chapter 8, the disappearance of the Huns as an efficient As we saw in Chapter 8, the disappearance of the Huns as an effective to buy since As we saw in Chapter 8, the thought of the saw in Chapter 8, the thought of the immigrant powers now established support to buy support to the immigrant powers now established support to the immigrant powers now establishe force left western imperial regime from at least some of the immigrant powers now established on the other a free hand from at least some of the Visigoths by offering them a free hand to soil. Avitus won over the Visigoths by offering them a free hand to soil. Majorian had hear to soil. Avitus won over the spain. Majorian had been forced their great profit, as it turned out – in Spain. Majorian had been forced to expand, and had allowed to expand, and had allowed to expand. their great pront, as it turned to recognize the Burgundians' desire to expand, and had allowed them more new cities (civitates) in the Rhône well. to recognize the Burguistance to take over some more new cities (civitates) in the Rhône valley; and Visigorhs to do pretty much as the he continued to allow the Visigoths to do pretty much as they wanted in Spain. To buy support for Libius Severus, similarly, Ricimer had handed over to the Visigoths the major Roman city of Narbonne with all its revenues. 13 But now, there were simply too many players in the field, and this, combined with rapid regime change, had created a situation in which even the already much reduced western tax reve nues were being further expended in a desperate struggle for stability. Three things needed to happen in the west to prevent its annihilation Legitimate authority had to be restored; the number of players needing to be conciliated by any incoming regime had to be reduced; and the Empire's revenues had to rise. Analysts in the eastern Empire came to precisely this conclusion, and in the mid-460s hatched a plan that had a very real chance of putting new life back into the ailing west.

THE DEATH OF Severus opened the path to renewed negotiations between Ricimer and Constantinople. They were long and tortuous No source gives us details, but there was a seventeen-month interes num - the longest yet - before the next western emperor was proclaimed, on 12 April 467. This gap, as much as the new emperor's identity plant and the new emperor's identity, alerts us to the crooked diplomatic paths that must have been trodden in al. trodden in the interim. The choice fell on Anthemius, an eastern general of general of proven abilities and high pedigree, and the nominee of the eastern emperor I eastern emperor Leo (although Ricimer certainly accepted the appointment). Anthonius ment). Anthemius' maternal grandfather – also called Anthemius – had been virtual miles – 6.14 acting been virtual ruler of the eastern Empire for the decade 405-14, acting as Praetorian Dec as Praetorian Prefect in the east during the last years of the reign of the emperor Assault the emperor Arcadius and the early years of his son Theodosius II.

The new emperor and the early years of his son digringuished. The new emperor's father, Procopius, was nearly as distinguished

perched from the usurper Procopius of the mid-360s, and hence of Constantine, he had risen to summit related to the house on the Dominity related to the forces of the Dominity related to the forces of the forces of the Dominity related to the forces of the Dom perchéed from the usuiper of Constantine, he had risen to supreme of Constantine, he had risen to supreme strandy related to the house on the Persian front (magister military magnand of Roman forces on the persian front (magister military). percent related to the mouse on the Persian front (magister militum per son the militum per forces on the vounger Anthemius followed his command in the mid-420s. The younger Anthemius followed his command in the mid-420s. of Roman 101ccs of Norman 101ccs of Norm one in the mu-special distinction, emerging in the mid-450s the army, where he gained distinction, the fall-out from the mid-450s a leading role in containing the fall-out from the mid-450s on the army, where he successfully containing the fall-out from the Hunnic play after Attila's death. Immediately afterwards by the successful the successful to the successful that the successful the successful that the succes play a leading role in commandiately afterwards, he was named in for 455, and Patrician, and promoted to command in for 455, and patrician in for 455, and impire after Attua and Patrician, and promoted to commanding general for 455, and Patrician, and promoted to commanding general field armies (magister militum and promoted to commanding general field armies (magister militum and promoted to commanding general field armies (magister militum and promoted to commanding general field armies (magister militum and promoted to commanding general field armies (magister militum and promoted to commanding general field armies (magister militum and promoted to commanding general field armies (magister militum and promoted to commanding general field armies (magister militum and promoted to commanding general field armies (magister militum and promoted to commanding general field armies (magister militum and promoted to commanding general field armies (magister militum and promoted to commanding general field armies (magister militum and promoted to commanding general field armies (magister militum and promoted to commanding general field armies (magister militum and promoted to commanding general field armies (magister militum and promoted to commanding general field armies (magister militum and promoted to commanding general field armies (magister militum and promoted to commanding general field armies (magister militum and promoted to commanding general field armies (magister militum and promoted to commanding general field armies (magister militum and promoted to commanding general field armies (magister militum and promoted to commanding general field armies (magister militum and promoted to commanding general field armies (magister militum and promoted to commanding general field armies (magister militum and promoted to commanding general field armies (magister militum and promoted to commanding general field armies field armies (magister militum and promoted to commanding general field armies field armies (magister militum and promoted to commanding general field armies field armies field armies (magister militum and promoted field armies field armies field armies f of the central field armies (magister militum praesentalis). He also of one of the emperor Marcian's only daughter, necived the hand in marriage of the emperor Marcian's only daughter, necived the manual Sidonius says that on Marcian's death back in Acia Marcia Dack III back III at Marcia back III look like an exaggeration. The marriage suggests that Anthemius was Marcian's preferred successor. But the purple didn't come to him. Sidonius says that his own reluctance held him back (but that's another ommon trope of panegyric). Instead, Leo was promoted - he was a guards officer through whom the other magister militum praesentalis, Aspar, was looking to run the Empire. Anthemius cannot, however, have been too disaffected, because he continued to serve the new emperor as general.15

In short, Anthemius' imperial credentials were impeccable, and so equally applicable to the post of eastern emperor that Leo and Aspar may well have been scanning the 'Italian situations vacant' column in the Constantinopolitan Times for quite a while before Sevenus convenient demise. Even if happy to be rid of him, it did not detract from the level of support they were willing to offer him. In the spring of 467 Anthemius arrived in Italy with a military force provided by the commanding general of Roman field forces in Illyricum (magister militum per Illyricum), Marcellinus. 16 Marcellinus was Originally Aetius' appointee and had taken control of the area on his assassination. The emperor Majorian had reconfirmed his appointment, but after Majorian's death he applied to Constantinople rather than to Libius Severus, for authorization to continue in his post. It was through the eastern emperor Leo, therefore, that Marcellinus' support for Anthemius was channelled. Leo also secured Ricimer's consent to Anthemius' promotion, and the relationship was sealed by a marriage alliance: as soon as Anthemius arrived in Italy, his only daughter Alypia married Ricimer. Combining talent and pedigree with backing from both the west in the person of Ricimer, and Constantinople, Anthemius was the man to restore political stability, if anyone could, west.

man west.

Anthemius went to Italy with a plan for dealing with the Alns in Gaul. It is discussion. Roman wear.

Anthemius went to Italy with a reason with the fundamental problems facing his new Empire. First, he quickly the house are of order north of the Alps in Gaul. It is difficult to estimate the state of fundamental problems racing an amodicum of order north of the Alps in Gaul. It is difficult to each of Gaul was still functioning as part of the western a modicum of order north of the visigoths, and certainly the Burgundan how much of Gaul was sun runned how much of Gaul was sun runne in 467. In the south the visible of their territories remained legal remained legal remained remained legal remained remained legal remained remained legal remained remained remained legal remained remained remained remained legal remained part of the Empire. We know that institutions like the cursus public part of the Empire. Further north, things are less clear public pu part of the Empire. We will be sufficiently were still functioning nere. Roman army of the Rhine, or what was left of it, had gone into less clear. The Roman army of Majorian, and part of it still formed the control of Majorian. Roman army of the Krime, or what army of its still formed the core of the deposition of Majorian, and part of it still formed the core of on the deposition of paris. Refugees from battle to the rise of the contributed to the rise of the ris Roman Britain also seem to have contributed to the rise of a new Roman Britain also seem power in Britany, and for the first time Frankish warbands were power in Britain, and for the fourth century. The power is a power in Britain and power in Britain also seem to the fourth century. The power is a power in Britain also seem to the fourth century in the fourth century. flexing their muscles on Roman soil. In the fourth century, Franks had played the same kind of role on the northern Rhine frontier as the Alamanni played to their south. Semi-subdued clients, they both raided and traded with the Roman Empire, and contributed substantially to its military manpower, several leading recruits, such as Bauto and Arbogast, rose to senior Roman commands. Also like the Alamanni the Franks were a coalition of smaller groups, each with their own leadership. By the 460s, as Roman control collapsed in the north, some of these warband leaders began for the first time to operate exclusively on the Roman side of the frontier, selling their services, it seems, to the highest bidder.17

None of these Gallic powers was strong enough directly to threaten what remained of the Roman west when it was buoyed up with eastern support, and Anthemius' arrival cowed all of them at least into acquiescence. Gaul, however, wasn't the fundamental problem. Even Majorian had done nearly as well there as Anthemius in attracting acceptance, even support, from the Gallo-Roman landowners. The Gallic Sidonius, for instance, had played a role in the Burgundians seizure of Lyon, and for this Majorian initially punished him with a higher tax bill. In response, Sidonius wrote the emperor a poem complaining in mannered and deliberately self-deprecating fashion. For now my talkative muse is silenced by the tax, and culls instead of Vergil's of Vergil's and Terence's lines the pence and halfpence owed to the Exchequer'is Services lines the pence and halfpence owed to the Exchequer.'18 So Majorian let him off and, along with many of his

END OF EMPIRE sidonius joined the ranks of the emperor's Gallic supporters. A convivial evening when the emperor dischis era recalls a convivial evening when the emperor dischis era recalls a convivial evening when the emperor dischis era recalls a convivial evening when the emperor dischis era recalls a convivial evening when the emperor dischis era recalls a convivial evening when the emperor dischister and the emperor dischister and

sidonius joined the ranks of the emperor's Gallic supporters. A convivial evening when the emperor dined convivial and his friends. 19 with Sidonius and his friends. 19 with si of this era recaus with Sidonius and his friends.19

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Met of the witticisms with should be engaging Anthemius led to queues anxious to court and be courted landowners anxious to court and be courted landowners. of culto Roman landowners anxious to court and be courted by the arrival in their midst on the cursus publicus was still word emperor. We know him the cursus publicus was still word emperor. o court and be courted by the cursus publicus was still working we know that the cursus publicus was still working emperor. We know that way to see Anthemius at the head of the cursus sidonius used it on his way to see Anthemius at the head of the cursus sidonius used it on his way to see Anthemius at the head of the cursus sidonius used it on his way to see Anthemius at the head of the cursus sidonius used it on his way to see Anthemius at the head of the cursus sidonius used it on his way to see Anthemius at the head of the cursus sidonius used it on his way to see Anthemius at the head of the cursus sidonius used it on his way to see Anthemius at the head of the cursus sidonius used it on his way to see Anthemius at the head of the cursus sidonius used it on his way to see Anthemius at the head of the cursus sidonius used it on his way to see Anthemius at the head of the cursus sidonius used it on his way to see Anthemius at the head of the cursus sidonius used it on his way to see Anthemius at the head of the cursus sidonius used it on his way to see Anthemius at the head of the cursus sidonius used it on his way to see Anthemius at the head of the cursus sidonius used it on his way to see Anthemius at the head of the cursus sidonius used it on his way to see Anthemius at the head of the cursus sidonius used it on his way to see Anthemius at the head of the cursus sidonius used it on his way to see Anthemius at the head of the cursus sidonius used it on his way to see Anthemius at the head of the cursus sidonius at the cursus sidonius at the cursus sidonius at the head of the cursus sidonius at the cursus sidonius sidonius at the cursus sidonius at the cursus sidonius at the cursus sidonius We know that the bead of a see Anthemius at the head of a see Sidonius used it on his way to see Anthemius at the head of a see Sidonius used it on his responded in kind. Sidonius was still working a sequence of the second sec because Sidonius used it off the seponded in kind. Sidonius wormed his because deputation. Anthemius responded in most important Italian access of the two most Will deputation. Anthermus respondent in kind. Sidonius wormed his will deputation of the two most important Italian senatorial into the good graces of the two most and Flaving Comments of the time, Gennadius Avienus and Flaving Comments of the time, Gennadius and Flaving Comments of the time of the good graces of the time, Gennadius Avienus and Flavius Caecina power brokers of the with their help got the change and with their help got the change and grace of the change of power brokers of the with their help got the chance to deliver a patilius, and with their help got the chance to deliver a perior to the emperor, on 1 January 469 20 As panegyric to the emperor, on 1 January 468.20 As a result, he was paregyric to the high office of Urban Prefect of Rome.

Another in operation with sale and the s A time-honoured process was in operation: with self-advancement in A time-nonlounce production would turn up at the imperial court the start of a new reign to offer support and receive gifts in return.21 But fiddling with the balance of power in Gaul wasn't going to ontribute anything much towards a restoration of the western Empire. There was only one plan that stood any real chance of putting life

back into the Roman west: reconquering North Africa. The Vandal-Alan coalition had never been accepted into the country club of allied immigrant powers that began to emerge in the mid-fifth century. The treaty of 442, which recognized its seizure of Carthage, was granted when Aetius was at the nadir of his fortunes; it was an exception to the Vandals' usual relationship with the Roman state, which was one of great hostility. The western Empire, as we have seen, from the 410s onwards had consistently allied with the Visigoths against the Vandals and Alans, and the latter's history after 450 was one of similar exclusion. Unlike the Visigoths or the Burgundians, the Vandals and Alans did not contribute to Aetius' military coalition that fought against Attila in Gaul in 451; nor were they subsequently courted or rewarded by the regimes of Avitus, Majorian or Libius Severus. Their leader Geiseric was certainly after membership of the club, as his sack of Rome at the time of Petronius Maximus paradoxically showed. This was partly motivated by the fact that Maximus had upset the marriage arrangements between his son Huneric and the elder daughter of Valentinian III. After they sacked Rome in 455, the Vandals continued to raid the coast of Sicily and various Mediterranean islands. This was an enterprise undertaken in large measure for profit, but Geiseric also

had a more ambitious, political, agenda. Part of his booty from the free Eudocia and Placidia. Eudocia bis wife like had a more ambitious, political, agential. Fall of his booty from sack of Rome had been Valentinian III's women: his booty from the large and his daughters Eudocia and placidia. Eudocia wife light sack of Rome had been Valenting and Placidia. Budocia to Geiseric's eldest son Huneric. Probably in 462, Budocia was dely constantinople, where Placidia. Eudoxia, and his daughters Eudocia and Figure Eudocia Eudocia Eudocia Eudocia Was della were freed to go to Constantinople, where placidia manual Model Manual Manu married to Geiseric's eldest son riverance. Placed to Geiseric's eldest son riverance and the senator called Anicius Olybrius, who had fled to the can-Placidia were freed to go to Constitution, who had fled to the castest to the cas Roman senator called Anicius Ciyotana, Wall lied to the canted capital to escape the sack. After 462, Geiseric was canvassing for the Vandal har capital to escape the sack. Alter to the western throne. From the Vandal point that the Anicius Olybrius as heir to the western the Vandal of the Vandal point of view, this would have had the desirable outcome that the next king of the Vandals of view, this would have the next king of the Vandals for another route to the political acceptance that Co. western emperor would have brother-in-law: another route to the political acceptance that Geiseng

The history that had brought the Vandals to North Africa was only not the view that the vandals to North Africa was only not view the The history that had been a Roman point of view, than that Wisigoths and Burgundians installed in Gaple An that which had seen Visigoths and Burgundians installed in Gaul. All three which had seen visigous the Roman state by military action, or the choice the west Roman imperial and three the west Roman imperial and the choice the choice the west Roman imperial and the choice the choice the west Roman imperial and the choice the choice the west Roman imperial and the choice the choice the choice the west Roman imperial and the choice the ch threat of it; given the choice, the west Roman imperial authorities would rather have had nothing to do with any of them. The real problem undermining Geiseric's bid to be admitted to the immigrant powers' club was not so much past indiscretions per se, but the fact that, while in flagrante, he had come into possession of the richest, most productive provinces of the western Empire. Since the 440s, in addition to the lands he already held in North Africa, he had seized Tripolitania and a number of Mediterranean islands. His annual raids were spreading fear and disorder up and down the Italian coastline. Destroying the Vandals would therefore achieve two highly desirable ends in one fell swoop. It would take out one of the three major barbarian powers established on western soil, and, more important, return an invaluable reservoir of wealth to the imperial treasury.

It is worth indulging here in a little counterfactual history. The knock-on effects of a decisive victory over Geiseric, itself far from inconceivable, 23 would have been far-reaching. With Italy and North Africa united, Spain could have been added to the new western power base. Unlike the start of th base. Unlike the Vandal-Alan coalition, the Suevi who had stayed in Spain were no more than a relatively minor irritant. Their power ebbed and no more than a relatively minor irritant. ebbed and flowed according to the amount of Roman resources devoted to the amount of Roman resources devoted to the peninsula at any one time, and there is no reason to think that the think that they would have been able to hold out against a full-scale imperial course. imperial counterattack. Then, once Hispanic revenues had begun w END OF EMPIRE

much reconstruction would in turn have become with a second reconstruction would be second and Burgundians.

In a second reconstruction would in turn have become much reconstruction would in turn have become and Burgundians could in Gaul. At the very least, Visigoths and Burgundians could much smaller enclaves of influence. Marketin more recent acquisitions such as Narbonne and the assertive Decrete field we of their more recent acquisitions and Burgundians could be a second acquisition of their more recent acquisitions as Narbonne and the assertive Decrete field marketing and Burgundians could be a second field possible reduced to much sitiation such as Narbonne and the cities where of their more recent acquisitions such as Narbonne and the cities Bagaudae of the nomb we been brought back into line.

the know been brought back into line. have been prought would still have looked more like a coalition, such a reborn west would still have looked more like a coalition, such a reborn autonomous Gothic and Buroundian substantially autonomous Gothic and Burgundian spheres of substantially allongside the territories under direct Roman rule, single integrated state like the old fourth-continue. phence coexisting and state like the old fourth-century Empire. But has a single integrated state like become once accident but a single mice would have become once again the dominant the Roman centre would have become once again the dominant the Roman terms are ucommant with the strategic situation restored at least to a level comparble with that of the 410s, before the loss of North Africa - better, the will there would be no Vandal-Alan coalition loose in Spain. Move on another twenty years, and even the Romano-Brits, struggling against the Saxon invaders, might have benefited. This is, of course, a best-case scenario. The Visigoths had proved impossible to destroy even during the eras of Theodosius I and Alaric when the Empire had disposed of much greater assets, so they were a problem that was unlikely to go away. Nonetheless, there were plenty of Rome-focused landowners still around in Gaul and Spain in the late 460s, as Sidonius' dash to Italy to seek out Anthemius shows, who would have welcomed the resurgence of a plausible western Empire. And, however you look at it, a reborn west based on the possession of Italy, North Africa, most of Spain and large chunks of Gaul was a formidable prospect. Even as late as the 460s, all was not lost: a successful campaign against the Vandals could have halted the vicious circle of decline and guaranteed the western Empire an active political life for the foreseea-

That eliminating the Vandals was the best available answer to the problems of the west had been appreciated for some time. The only other western regime to have shown much fight after the assassination of Actius was that of Majorian, and he had adopted the same strategy. From early in his reign, we have a verse panegyric Sidonius gave in the emperor's honour during a stay at Lyon in 458. After the usual expression of superlatives designed to demonstrate that Majorian has been blessed with all the qualities of the perfect emperor, the scene then shifts to Rome, personified as an armed goddess surveying her territories. All is well, until:24

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Of a sudden Africa flung herself down weeping, with her swarp torn. Bowing her forehead she broke the come of the Of a sudden Africa flung nersen and her forehead she broke the comes warth her ears whose fruitfulness was now her bane; and the cheeks all torn. Bowing ner rote the corn ears whose fruitfulness was now her bane; and that the corn and the corn ears that part of the world, unfortunate because crowned her, ears whose number of the world, unfortunate her, and that she began: I come, a third part of the world, unfortunate her and that is fortunate. This man [Geiseric], son of a slave world. she began: I come, a time part one man is fortunate. This man [Geiseric], son of a slave woman one man is fortunate. This man blotted out our rightful i one man is fortunate. This man is located out our significant of a slave-woman hath long been a robber; he hath blotted out our rightful long a day hath wielded his barbarian sceptre in man a day hath wielded his barbarian hath long been a roduct, the hath long been a roduct, the hath long been a roduct, the hath wielded his barbarian sceptre in my land and for many a day hath wielded his barbarian sceptre in my land this strange. and for many a day name with the stranger love, and having driven our nobility utterly away this stranger love,

This opens a long appeal for Rome to awaken from her slumbers and into which Sidonius interweaves an agent and This opens a long appear not recommend the situmber and right Africa's wrongs, into which Sidonius interweaves an account of the situmber and majorian's martial past, again so as to parade his credentials as the solution of the goddess's speech comes to a close at the solution of the goddess's speech comes to a close at the solution of the goddess's speech comes to a close at the solution of the goddess's speech comes to a close at the goddess's speech comes to Majorian's martial past, again right man for the job. The goddess's speech comes to a close with a

he is sunk in indolence and, thanks to untold gold, no longer knows aught of steel. His cheeks are bloodless; a drunkard's heaviness afflicts him, pallid flabbiness possesses him, and his stomach, loaded with continual gluttony, cannot rid itself of the

Nothing like a little fart joke to lighten the mood, even at an imperial celebration. But Sidonius also had a more serious point. The time was ripe for Majorian to avenge Africa 'so that Carthage may cease to war

This was a direct statement of intent. No imperial panegyrist was ever allowed to stand before an emperor and tell him to do some specific thing, unless that emperor already had every intention of so doing.25 Sidonius had clearly been told that one of the aims of his panegyric was to prepare landowning opinion for an assault on the Vandals. This was early in the year 458. There was still much to do in preparation, as Sidonius makes clear. For a start, more order had to be restored in Gaul before they could concentrate on the North African adventure. adventure; and fleets had to be constructed.26 But from its earliest days Majorian's regime committed itself to an assault on the Vandals.

In 461, it was ready to deliver. Majorian's plan was, with his main tee. to follow a large system. force, to follow the route taken by the Vandals themselves. By the spring 300 ali spring, 300 ships were gathered in harbours along the coast of the Hispanic province. Hispanic province of Carthaginensis, from Cartago Nova (Cartagens) to Illici (Elcha) at Majoriso to Illici (Elche) about a hundred kilometres further north. Majorian

END OF EMPIRE duly arrived in Spain, from there to be transported, it marching in full battle order in Mauretania, with a view to marching in full battle order in Mauretania, to Mauretania, arrived Africa 27 Ar the bis army duly arrived in Opani, Holli there to be transported, it with a view to marching in full battle order into Mauretania, With a view to marching in full battle order into Mauretania, Wandal Africa. At the same time, Marcelline Marcelli of his of his illyrican field army into battle in Sicily. expelling the manual of his illyrican field army into battle in Sicily. by heardand of vandan field army into battle in Sicily, expelling the dements of his illyrican they had established on the island contains from footholds they had established on the island contains the same time, Marcellinus led be not of his myrican they had established on the island. Securing footholds they had established on the island. Securing footholds from footholds they had established on the island. Securing footholds are end in itself, but may also have been designed to the interest of the interest o was an end in itself, but may also have been designed to sow sidy was Geiseric's mind about the trajectory of the yad an end in the trajectory of the main attack.

Multi Geiseric's mind about the trajectory of the main attack.

Multi Genered, Geiseric made peace overtures but it is comered. bubt in Geiseric s made peace overtures, but Majorian was reging cornered, Geiseric them. More to the point all adjections and the main attack. Reling cornered, to reject them. More to the point, the emperor had confident enough to reject them to contemplate confident enough to the expedition to contemplate compromise. But, saked too Majorian's plans. Geiseric struck from his C whed too much and splans, Geiseric struck first: his fleet raided the spanish coast and destroyed Majorian's shipping. The emperor's army Spanish cooling its heels on the Spanish beaches; the campaign, beralded as the centrepiece of Majorian's policy as early as 458, had

Majorian had lost his hold on power. He left Spain in high summer, travelling back overland to Italy. En route, he was arrested and deposed by Ricimer on 2 August, and executed five days later. For Majorian, the African gamble ended in disaster, but the reasoning behind it was sound. When Anthemius came west a few years later, it can have been no surprise to anyone that his eyes were fixed firmly on Carthage.

### The Byzantine Armada

IF LEO WAS happy enough to remove so formidable a presence as Anthemius from Constantinople, the eastern emperor's contribution to his attempt to reconquer Vandal Africa was unstinting. This may well have been part of the deal between them. A number of sources give us a fair idea of the costs involved. The most detailed account is found in fragments from a work by another Constantinople-based historian. Penned by a certain Candidus in the late fifth century, the fragments are preserved in an encyclopaedic Byzantine work, the Suda, of the late tenth. Here we learn: 'The official in charge of [financial] matters revealed that 47,000 pounds of gold came through the Prefects, and through the Count of the Treasuries an additional 17,000 pounds of gold and 700,000 pounds of silver, as well as monies raised through confiscations and from the Emperor Anthemius. 28 One pound of gold equated to more or less eighteen of silver, giving a total of about

103,000 pounds of gold, and it was called in from every from general taxation (the purview of the prefects), from a taxation of the Count of at the count of a 103,000 pounds of gold, and it was cauce in mon every source: from general taxation (the purview of the prefects) available that Anthonic least th source: from general taxation (une purview of the Prefects), available exploitation of imperial estates (that of the Count of the Treasure) as confiscations and anything else that Anthemius could encount of the Treasure). exploitation of imperial estates (that Anthemius could exploit the Treasults) as well as confiscations and anything else that Anthemius could explore the or less the thing the could explore th as well as confiscations and anything as well as confiscations and anything from the west. Of other sources, one gives more or less the same others put it higher: at 120,000 from the west. Of other sources, figure as Candidus, while two others put it higher: at 120,000 and of gold. The figures are roughly similar (Candidus) figure as Candidus, withe the figures are roughly similar (Candidus) and include the monies he refers to as having been continuous forms. 130,000 pounds of goid. The monies he refers to as having been raised himself, from the west). The general level of maonic. by Anthemius himself, from the west). The general level of magnitude of Justinian's Church by Anthemius nimsen, months of Justinian's Church of Justinian's Church of instance. Constantinople in the 530s, for instance. Constantinople in the 530s, for instance. Hagia Sophia in Constantinople in the 530s, for instance, cost the emperor American Roman treasury 15-20,000 pounds of gold. The emperor Anastasiu Roman treasury 17-20,000 production of the decided with relative neace left on his death whose reign had been blessed with relative peace, left, on his death, 320,000 pounds of gold for his successor. A hundred and three thousand pounds is forty-six tons: a huge figure, then, but plausible enough, and a good guide to Leo's commitment to the west.29

The military effort generated by all this cash was correspondingly massive. An armada of eleven hundred ships, nearly four times the size of the fleet assembled by Majorian, was assembled from across the eastern Empire. Again, the figure is plausible. If the much damaged western Empire could find 300 in 461,30 1,100 for such an ambitious project is entirely proportionate. No one gives tonnages for the 468 expedition, but the ships of an east Roman fleet of 532 varied between 20 and 330 tons. Most of the vessels were tiny by modern standards. The vast majority were merchant ships powered by sails alone, but there may have been some specialist warships, dromons, that would proceed as far as the action under sail, then join battle under our power.31 The military manpower committed was similarly to scale. Procopius puts the figure at 100,000, but that seems both high and suspiciously round. The later fleet of 500 ships in 532 carried an army of 16,000, so the 1,100 ships of 468 may have been conveying something something over 30,000 soldiers (sailors are not included here) in addition addition, as in 461, Marcellinus and some of his Illyrian command also came west. This also are some of his Illyrian command and some of his Illyrian command also came west. came west. This time they first drove the Vandals out of Sardinia, and then occupied Station they first drove the Vandals out of Sardinia, and then occupied Station to the army of then occupied Sicily in force. A third force, recruited from the army of Egypt and placed army of the second state of the second Egypt and placed under the command of the general Heraclius, was put ashore simular put ashore simultaneously in Tripolitania, where it joined with the locals in throwing locals in throwing out the Vandals who had occupied their cities since

END OF EMPIRE Adding together the sailors and all these subsidiary forces, then, together to the expedition was certainly well over 50 000. of Adding together the samula and these subsidiary forces, then, was certainly well over 50,000

command of this huge expedition was allotted to Leo's brother-in-Command of this number of the Balkans fighting off the last attempte of the Balkans fighting of the last attempte of the Balkans fighting of the the general Dashing off the last attempts of Attila's fighting find sanctuary south of the Danube. By the Last attempts of Attila's guccess in the Danube. By the beginning of the Danube and there is a larger of the Danube what was coming, and there is a larger of the Danube what was coming, and there is a larger of the Danube was coming. of find sanctually what was coming, and there is a huge sense we everyone knew what was coming are in Romanian in the panegyric Sidonius gave in Romanian in the sidonius gave in the sidonius gave in Romanian in the sidonius gave in the sidonius gave in Romanian in the sidonius gave in the sidonius deveryone silver a nuge sense of anthemius' accession to the panegyric Sidonius gave in Rome on 1 January of dependation in the partial state of a second to the consulship. One that there is little to the consulship. One the year in the claimed that there is little reflection of the by antine armada in western sources. For once, I disagree with him.33 Byzannine and sailing suffuse Sidonius' speech, beginning with his introduction of Anthemius:34

This, my Lords, is the man for whom Rome's brave spirit and your love did yearn, the man to whom our commonwealth, like a ship overcome by tempest and without a pilot, hath committed her broken frame, to be more deftly guided by a worthy steersman that she may no more fear storm or pirate.

Marine metaphor then tacks in and out, with the speech concluding:

But now too strong are the breezes that drive my sails before them. Check, O Muse, my humble measures, and as I seek the harbour let the anchor of my song settle at last in a calm restingplace. Yet of the fleet and forces that you, O prince [Anthemius], are handling and of the great deeds you will do in a short while, l, if God further my prayers, shall tell of in due course . . .

The sense of anticipation of a naval expedition in the offing is unmistakable. And Sidonius' speech captures the grand design: Anthemius came to us with a covenant made by the two realms; an empire's peace has sent him to conduct our wars.' He had come with the promise of military salvation for the west, and in 468 it arrived. Sidonius caught the moment perfectly. That such an armada could be assembled was in itself a tour de force. Now would come the true test. The storm of battle was about to detonate once more in the western Mediterranean. The fleet, the supreme symbol of imperial unity, was on its way.

The Roman plan was emphatically not to fight a fleet engagement.